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Labor Crisis

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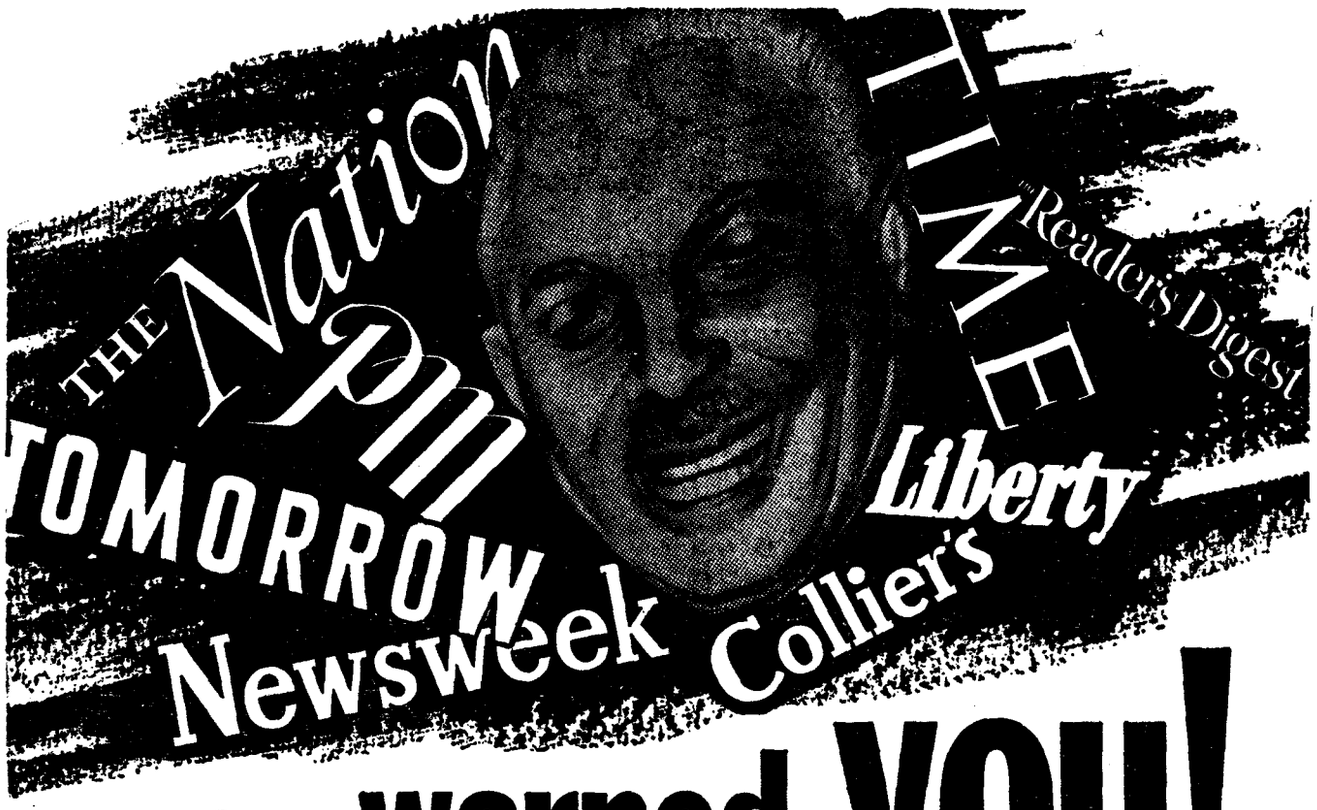

they warned you!

FROM Port au Prince to Pleasantville publishers and editors —regardless of policy — have been discreetly shocked by the rise and rule of Raphael Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic. The despot who is responsible for some 20,000 murders and for countless millions of dollars in graft.

His ruthless blood purges; his squandering of Lend Lease money; his quaint extortion schemes; his methods of murder; his rough-shod ride over the blank face of the State Department have been an open secret for years. But his regime still continues to kill and plunder while basking in the warmth of Good Neighborliness.

Every important publication has warned America of this marauding megalomaniac. But here, for the first time, is the complete blood-stained record of the home-grown Hitler whom we lovingly call Our Good Neighbor.

"Recently Germans have been forced to view moving pictures of war crimes for which they were responsible. It is too bad that *Blood in the Streets* cannot be used in the same way. Every U.S. Congressman should be compelled to read it as well as every member of our departments of State and Interior . . . Mr. Hicks has performed a public service which requires great personal courage and Quentin Reynolds has provided an excellent introduction to this book. Without doubt they will be the victims of a tremendous smear campaign . . . To all those who wish information to arm themselves against the inroads of Fascism in the Americas, *Blood in the Streets* is excellent reading."
—WENZELL BROWN, *Saturday Review of Literature*

BLOOD in the STREETS

The Life and Rule of Trujillo • *by* ALBERT C. HICKS

with an introduction by QUENTIN REYNOLDS

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 114, NO. 23 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1946 NUMBER 1645

Hope and Peril at UN

THE UNITED NATIONS has reached its moment of greatest hope and peril.

The peril is obvious. At the highest political level the war for the world is on. America and Britain are using the Security Council to isolate the Soviet Union before the world. The Soviet Union asserts that this coalition is a warmongering coalition, bent on armed conflict, and that it must be smashed and broken at all costs. In this crude battle of obsolete but deadly weapons, every blunderbuss of bluster, bluff and threat is wheeled out and set off with loud noise and smoke, and with absolutely no constructive effect.

Intransigent Soviet nationalism has formed its ranks in military order from the heroic scenes of socialist internationalism. Emergent American reaction is hauling down in political disorder the inspiring banners of Wilson and Roosevelt. Before this degrading battle for their souls, the peoples of the world remain, as they should, completely unmoved. Neither the new nationalism of Molotov nor the labor-breaking regime of Truman appeals to the people of Czechoslovakia, of France, of Italy, or of any other country, as the recent elections have shown.

AS THE portrait of a united world is painted at Hunter College, the great powers are busy hacking away at the frame. Senator Vandenberg is all for tightening the stresses of world coöperation to the breaking point. The *New Times*, of Moscow, replies that the United States and Britain are becoming "a league of aggressors," embarking on plans for "imperialist world hegemony." If this policy continues, the *New Times* adds, it will wreck the United Nations, and thereafter, "international relations will develop along another course." At whom these empty threats are aimed we do not know. No nation today can afford isolationism, national rearmament and war. But the effect of these threats is clear. At a moment when the *status quo* in international relations is intolerable, both sides are moving away from the new basis of coöperation by compromise, and toward an unjustifiable, inexcusable and altogether dangerous break. And both sides are to blame.

The peril to the United Nations is obvious. The hope is also obvious.

The Security Council, which by all odds has been the worst of the United Nations agencies, has, through its subcommittee, produced a unanimous report calling for action against Franco. At each phase of the working level of the United Nations, the Soviet government has shown a spirit of coöperation so far different from its recent policies that it may well be a herald of a major change at the highest level of political relations later on.

Here are a few examples of this change.

SINCE Dumbarton Oaks, the International Labor Office has endeavored to win recognition as part of the structure of the United Nations. The USSR belonged to the ILO until its ejection in 1939 from the League of Nations, during the Soviet-Finnish war. Since then, the Soviet Union has aggressively resisted any recognition of the ILO by the UN. On May 30, the Economic and Social Council signed a draft agreement with the ILO, giving to it full recognition as a specialized agency of the UN. This agreement was approved by the Soviet Union.

The Economic and Employment Commission of the Economic and Social Council, on which the USSR was represented, reported on May 25 to the Council. It adopted an ambitious interpretation of its mandate to attack the problems of world economic expansion, stability and improved living standards. It recommended immediate action in reporting on the necessity of reconstruction of devastated areas.

The Temporary Social Commission was equally courageous and forceful in its report.

On May 30, the Economic and Social Council discussed the report of the Commission on Human Rights. "Winant, Russian Clash on Priority of Press Charter," shouted the New York *Times* headline. "Russia Decries UN Emphasis on Free News," said the New York *Herald Tribune*. These headlines were in accordance with the policy of American newspapers, of overplaying every aspect of conflict within the United Nations. They were not in accordance with the facts.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1946, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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The Commission began badly when the USSR's Nikolai Kriukov appeared as an observer, voted on several issues and was replaced by Alexander Borisov, who denied Kriukov's right to vote, and attached reservations on most of the conclusions of the Commission. The Commission, under Mrs. Roosevelt, presented a strong report on the necessity to create and enforce a Bill of Human Rights and to include human-rights provisions in the peace treaties. The Council debate on the report was remarkable for the support given by the Soviet delegate, Nikolai Feonov, to the report and to the principles of human rights.

Day by day, the Charter of the UN is standing up through each dispute as an effective means of development into world government. From the first moment, it has been obvious that there have been wide differences in interpretation of the charter by Russia and the Western democracies. Until a genuine committee of experts replaces the present committee, which is simply a body of second-string representatives of national delegations, these differences will continue to endanger peace.

MEANWHILE, America is as vulnerable as Russia to the charge of indifference to the United Nations. The UN demands, and it deserves, the very best leaders of American democracy. It has not been given them. Two examples prove this.

Edward Stettinius has offered his resignation as our representative on the Security Council. His action was a foregone conclusion to anyone who saw him held fast under the constant guard of the State Department watchdogs at Hunter College. His effective status was reduced by State to the role of a division chief. He was permitted not the slightest deviation from the Department's preordained positions. The Security Council demands our best man; but our best man will accept the responsibility only if commensurate authority is granted with it. The Department will have to grant that authority if it is to be respected by the American people.

John B. Hutson is America's highest representative on the UN Secretariat. His authority is great—comparable to that of outstanding men such as the USSR's Arkady Sobolev.

Hutson, the Department's choice, is a well meaning, inefficient administrator with absolutely no background in world affairs. He is famous largely for his awful blunder in welcoming General Bor to America. This blunder is symptomatic. As Assistant Secretary General in charge of the key division of Administration and Finance, he has imposed on a resentful Secretariat the only principles of administration that he knows. They are completely unsuited to the UN. Under Hutson's regime more than 600 of the 800 employees of the UN are now Americans; the reaction of 51 other nations is violent and understandable.

There is peril at the highest level of world coöperation; hope at the working level. On this paradox peace rests. Hope will prevail over peril in the UN only if the organization itself breaks through the world deadlock of today. Real leaders in the UN are needed to resolve the world crisis. The State Department will have to be less arrogant and indifferent to the United Nations both as a concept and as an organization before America can earn the right to world leadership.

Truman v. Labor

President Truman, whose new policy toward labor is discussed at length elsewhere in this issue, appeared as of Monday, June 3, to be left in splendid isolation with sullen John Snyder, George Allen's bawdy jokes and the robin that made her nest on a White House pillar.

His intemperate address to Congress cut him off from organized labor. His stubborn insistence on holding the bill in the Senate has cost him the good will of the liberal and moderate Democrats on Capitol Hill. And he has lost the backing of conservatives by giving John Lewis what Senator Byrd calls "his greatest victory."

What started out as merely a good, old-fashioned hard-nosed quarrel between two old friends, Harry Truman and A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, has flowered into disaster for the Democrats and a crack-down policy against all organized labor.

The Maritime Crisis

CIO maritime unity, forged in San Francisco early last month, is having it rough in Washington. The shipping operators, plus the gratuitous intervention of Harry Truman, plus the long hours and low wage scales prevailing in other maritime countries, have conspired against the unions to maintain the 63-hour week and wages wholly inadequate for decent living standards.

Joe Curran and Harry Bridges, who learned their trade unionism in a hard school, are battling for the eight-hour day and for what amounts to a 30-percent wage increase. They will settle for less—if given a chance. But Truman is persisting in his phony "tough" attitude, and seems anxious to have the Navy operate merchant shipping at least until the left-wing maritime unions are broken.

The President's intervention is a great embarrassment to Labor Secretary Lewis Schwellenbach. He had the unions and the operators—government agents in disguise, since the government owns 85 percent of the ships—bargaining in fair amity until Truman threw his stink-bomb at his Friday press conference. It is vital to prevent a stoppage of merchant shipping, but Schwellenbach's, not Truman's, is the way. Harry Bridges was right on the beam when he said, "The maritime unions

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hope that the American people will make President Truman realize that he needs a 'cooling-off' period between his strike-breaking acts."

Germ Warfare

We still have an iron curtain of our own around certain military secrets. Representative Albert Thomas (D, Tex.) reminded us again of the scientific horrors of which our government refuses to give us more than hints when he spoke of a super-weapon more terrible than the atomic bomb. Commentators and scientists immediately deduced that he was referring to biological warfare. This is the euphemistic name given to war by disease, mass murder by epidemic, which the Navy has already quietly said is "likely" to be used in the future. Other hints have leaked out concerning an even more deadly idea—"death clouds" of radioactive atomic particles.

Insiders are amazed not only that the government keeps this story secret, but that press and public do not clamor for it to be told. The War Department, in releasing the Smyth Report, gave the world and the average man a glimpse of the epochal achievement behind the atomic weapon and emphasized its fateful meaning for the human race. There is, however, no Smyth Report for biological warfare. The statement made through the War Department by George Merck, head of the project, was most inadequate.

Its Threat for the Future

It is not from official sources, but from scientists and commentators, that we hear the new weapon, while not perfected, holds deadly promise. They say that it could have been used to destroy all crops on the Japanese mainland before troops ever moved in. They say that super-diseases can be cooked up in small laboratories ostensibly doing medical research, and that detection would be almost impossible. They point out that an epidemic, while killing men, women and infants in even greater numbers than atomic bombs do, would leave cities and factories intact for the conqueror's use. They say that both Germany and Japan had done preliminary work on such weapons, and that Great Britain had gone even farther with it than the United States.

Meanwhile, our government says almost nothing, and keeps biological-warfare scientists muzzled—the Groves mentalities are not repeating their blunder of letting the atomic scientists talk. The subject remains veiled as if it were still wartime and as if this revolution in warfare were as legitimate a secret as the minor invention of a new gunsight.

What our leaders actually may be keeping secret is *the nature of the next war*. So man walks along the precipice, and will not know the depth of the abyss until the fatal plunge.

Congressional Reorganization

Friends of good government will cheer the speed with which the La Follette legislation, embodying the proposals of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, has been reported to the Senate floor. However, a careful study of the legislative-reorganization bill reveals that it contains an extremely reactionary proposal calculated to endear it to the hearts of all those who are out to prevent adequate federal expenditures for housing, health, education, public works and other essential purposes.

The bill provides that any increase in public debt in any year must be previously authorized by a concurrent resolution setting forth the exact amount of the increase. This resolution is to be drafted jointly by the two Appropriations Committees, the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate, and must be submitted to Congress by April 15. If, by the end of the year, it appears that there may be a budget deficit in excess of that authorized in the concurrent resolution, the President is directed to reduce all appropriations by a uniform percentage. Of the many proposals offered in recent years for freezing the public debt and preventing a flexible fiscal policy, this is by all means the most Machiavellian.

In the general enthusiasm over the La Follette proposal for the reorganization of Congress, its budget-balancing provisions seem to have escaped public attention. One can be sure, however, that it has not gone unnoticed by Senator Byrd and the other reactionary Senators who dominate the Rules Committee. When the late Senator Maloney of Connecticut first proposed a joint committee on the organization of Congress, the Senate Rules Committee laid down the condition that the joint committee could make no recommendations on curbing the Senate filibuster. It is more than likely that the budget-balancing provision, which emanated from Senator Byrd's Joint Economy Committee, represents the price Senator La Follette agreed to pay for the Rules Committee action in agreeing to give the La Follette group authority to report legislation to the Senate floor.

The case for congressional reorganization stands on its own two feet. An excellent bill should not be spoiled by irrelevant provisions on balancing the budget.

A Poll on the British Loan

Republicans and Democrats in the House of Representatives have been taking unofficial polls on the proposed $3,750 million loan to Great Britain. Both claim a clear majority in either blocking or passing the bill.

Speaking for the Republicans, Representative Gerald Landis of Indiana declares that despite "the propaganda machine" backing the Senate-passed loan, at least

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150 Republicans and 70 Democrats will oppose the loan.

Democratic Whip John Sparkman isn't disturbed over Landis' claim. Sparkman's carefully compiled poll of House members places the proponents of the loan ahead, with more than 67 percent favoring the bill, which is scheduled to come up for a vote during the week of June 10.

The Ku Klux Klan Again

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities, which only recently was handed another $75,000 to continue its nefarious operations, has declined to undertake an investigation of the revived Ku Klux Klan in Georgia. Mississippi's John E. Rankin, who for years has been the disciple of just such bigotry and racial prejudice as the Klan fosters, stated that the committee had not been called upon to "interfere" with the Order. It was hardly expected that Rankin or the committee would look upon the Klan's activities as "un-American."

Meanwhile, Georgia's liberal Governor Ellis Arnall, Eugene Cook, Attorney General of the state, and the U. S. Treasury Department have declared war on the hooded bigots. Arnall last week directed Cook to bring *quo warranto* proceedings against the order in an effort to revoke its charter and drive it out of Georgia. If court action is unavailing, Arnall intends to convoke the state legislature in extraordinary session to "dehood" the Klan. And the federal government has filed a lien for $685,305 in unpaid federal income taxes owed by the Klan from 1921 through 1926.

The Georgia Attorney General, who is preparing to enter proceedings against the Klan before the end of this week, believes he can revoke the Ku Kluxers' charter on the grounds of numerous criminal acts. Evidence already appears to point to the Klan in the recent death of an Atlanta Negro. Other evidence shows that Klansmen used a blackjack on two students of Atlanta's Emory University for their alleged "intrusion" upon a secret KKK meeting. But even if the charter is revoked, Grand Dragon Samuel Green, a physician, has said the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., will continue as Association of Georgia Klans, claiming a constitutional right of assembly and continuing to hold secret and public "konklaves."

Generally, Georgians do not believe that the Klan will be able to accomplish such wholesale violation of civil rights as it did at the time of the sensational Fulton County trials in 1940-41. Membership is of poorer caliber, mentally, financially and numerically. Politically speaking, the members rank far below the level of earlier days. But the drive for membership is none the less zealous; it is believed that another "naturalization" ceremony similar to that which took place May 9, on Stone Mountain, will be staged this month within the city of Atlanta.

The Coal Settlement

THERE CAN BE little doubt that the new soft-coal contract will revolutionize the coal industry, or that it is a revolution long past due.

As Secretary of the Interior Krug pointed out after he had successfully negotiated the agreement, the United States is the last civilized country in the world to establish a health and welfare fund for its miners. The wage increase of 18.5 cents an hour won't compensate the average miner for a return to the five-day week, since he'll earn $4.25 less on a five-day basis. But the two welfare funds—the jointly operated welfare and retirement fund and the UMW-operated health and medical fund—will have a marked effect on the thousands of coal towns in the United States. In those communities where the company-doctor system prevails, the company doctor will find himself on the UMW payroll, answerable to a new boss when he certifies to state authorities that such-and-such an injured miner is or is not eligible for workmen's compensation. It is possible that the UMW will assume some of the housing burden as well. At least the UMW will be able to clean up the leaking privies and dribbling cesspools of which it has so long and justly complained.

The welfare and retirement fund is to be used to supplement state payments to injured and crippled miners and to allow whole men to stop mining while they still have some time left to enjoy life. It could be three times as big as it is and not accomplish all that John L. Lewis envisioned it as doing. Congress was alarmed at a demand no more radical than that of the federal post-office system, a "nationalized" utility, but there were hints that Lewis might create conditions under which it would no longer pay private operators to stay in the business, and the government would be forced to take over.

The government is well aware of the nature of its agreement with the UMW. To prove it, Secretary Krug has appointed a committee headed by Rear Admiral Joel T. Boone of the Navy Medical Corps to conduct a survey of "hospital and medical facilities, sanitation, community facilities, medical treatment and housing in the coal-mining areas of the country." The coal-mine administration intends to "provide the leadership to carry out the recommendations," because "the welfare of the miners is the concern of the American people."

All this affronts only those who believe that miners are a class below other Americans. It is intensely relieving to those who were beginning to doubt whether the Administration ever would make a bold step in the direction of improving the national welfare.

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Washington Wire

Congress Is to Blame

A PEPSI-COLA sky-writer wrote "Save Price Control" across Washington's blue heavens on Memorial Day. The fickle wind soon blew the letters away. It left the problem, however, of why and when Pepsi-Cola had developed a social conscience; and, incidentally, what to do about price control, inflation and the latter's ugly offspring, strikes.

Of course the OPA should be "saved." The Senate shuffles through that problem this week. But it would be idle to deny that there is little left to save. Some of the troops may be evacuated, but the battle (I think) has been lost. The OPA wasn't intended to beat inflation alone; it was one bastion in the defensive line. Other parts of the line have been penetrated or willfully abandoned: on one flank rationing has been prematurely ended, on the other the compulsive powers of control, like the power to allocate raw materials, have been dropped. Remnants of the OPA garrison are in full retreat. Last week a headline read, "Low-priced shoes advanced by OPA." The item explained that to "stimulate production," the OPA had granted price increases of 10 to 15 percent for low-cost shoes. You have the whole story right there.

When the war ended, the Administration gleefully ended rationing and dropped other controls overboard, one at a time. That wasn't all. In all history American business has never made half so much money, according to the sober testimony of Marriner Eccles, and yet Congress wiped out excess-profits taxes. Surplus savings hung like a poised avalanche over America, and Congress slashed taxes $6 billion! What happened? What else could happen? Prices went up. Only a miracle can prevent their going a lot higher. OPA officials have seen another kind of handwriting than Pepsi-Cola's: they are leaving government service in droves.

Strikes these days follow inflation. The two things feed on each other. What many people don't understand, even yet, is the sensational advance of organized labor. Large-scale collective bargaining is a development of hardly a decade in America. Neither labor nor industry is yet very good at it and it will take 20 years' experience, and not a legislative panacea, to improve their skill. In a dozen years unions have tripled membership to the present near-peak of 15 million, and the tight labor market gives them the most powerful bargaining position in history. Almost inevitably this is taking an increasingly political direction, though the absence of a formal labor party here still amazes Europeans. Events of the past week have probably brought it closer.

Labor must inevitably try to protect its war gains. Unions today are powerful and they resent watching their government trying to bribe manufacturers through the OPA to produce low-cost shoes.

It would be nice to think that labor had a completely clean bill of health in all this. But under present conditions there is a great temptation to overstep itself. In the past rail and coal strikes, why two recalcitrant rail unions should force national paralysis after 18 others had accepted settlement terms, and why John L. Lewis should behave the way he does, requires, as much as anything else, the explanation of a psychiatrist. But of the cause of the continuing struggle there can be no doubt. Labor is better organized than ever before, and it is fighting to retain its new status.

The whole history of the Associated Press shows a failure to understand the era it is living in. Again and again it misinterprets the phrase "freedom of the press," until it is knocked on the head by the courts. It was so in the early days of the AP; it is so now. Although it is allegedly a non-profit corporation, actually its good or bad business judgment is reflected in the balance sheet of its membership. Last April the Board of Directors announced that its unsuccessful three-year suit against the government had cost half a million dollars. The AP smugly tried to defy the Newspaper Guild, under the Wagner Act, claiming "freedom of the press." The Supreme Court slapped it down. Again, the AP tried to argue it wasn't a monopoly when it excluded certain newspapers from membership. The Court slapped it down again. And now spokesmen for the AP have the gall to appear before a House Judiciary subcommittee to ask exemption from the Supreme Court's ruling. Thus far fire-insurance companies, railroads, oil companies and members of the AP have asked dispensations from Congress, to void the anti-trust laws in their particular case. They all feel they present special extenuating circumstances.

Two years ago, at just about this date, the people of England were exposed to the first German rocket-bombs. When they first began arriving it seemed simply impossible that human beings could grow accustomed to them. But in three weeks they didn't seem half so bad. And so it is with the thought of atomic bombs. They worried everyone sick, just at first. But now we are getting used to it. Relations with Russia deteriorate, but we get acclimated to that, too. Announcement is made of more terrible biological-warfare threats and "atomic poison gas." We simply turn to something else. Soldiers will tell you the human mind isn't adapted to feeling panic *all* the time. Today the world is getting accustomed to living amid what previously seemed impossible fears—and forgetting them.

Notes.—President Truman hasn't told this column what he will do about the Case bill; but we expect him to veto it. . . . Senator LaFollette urges Congress to modernize itself on the ground that nineteenth-century machinery is breaking down under the tremendous new work load; in fact, rarely in history has there been such congestion of major bills as today. . . . The desire to get radio facilities to broadcast American news through the "iron curtain" has become almost a phobia with Secretary Byrnes. . . . Only three Senators voted against the so-called "anti-Petrillo" bill; now *Tide* Magazine, for the advertising industry, asks whether the whole thing isn't a "legislative boomerang," that will backfire on broadcasters and advertisers.

Washington T. R. B.

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Facts about the Famine

Time is short! The peoples of the world are in danger of starving. Statesmen and politicians quarrel over relief needs. The American people, confused by the controversy, are not as yet awake to their responsibilities. But the facts speak for themselves.

What Caused the World Famine?

Unexpected droughts in South America, Europe, North and South Africa, New Zealand and India were the principal factor in worsening the food situation in the second half of 1945. The causes of droughts are not exactly known. Climatic factors are interwoven all over the globe. In the temperate zones rain is caused by the conflict of polar and equatorial air masses. When this conflict does not take place, for topographical or other unknown reasons, a drought occurs.

What Are the Other Factors?

Shortages of transport, fuel, fertilizer, draft power and farm machinery, as well as many other wartime dislocations, have helped to reduce supplies. Before the crisis was apparent, the war-weary and hungry people in Europe, expecting that larger postwar imports would supplement their supplies, had been eating their stocks of food at a faster rate than could be sustained. The difficulty of equitable distribution grew with the shortage.

Were We Unprepared?

Shortages in fats, meat, dairy products and sugar had been anticipated. But it had been hoped to make up for these deficiencies by increased consumption of cereals. How greatly current needs have been underestimated appears from the fact that UNRRA's present program covers only about 20 percent of world food needs. Cereal shortages were followed by severe rice shortages. The "rice-bowl" countries—Burma, Siam, Indo-China—had for export only small surpluses from previous crops, aggravating the food situation in rice-eating countries.

What About Cereal Production?

Drought so reduced production in French North Africa in 1945 that this former wheat-surplus-producing region has had to rely, and, until the 1946 crop is harvested, must continue to rely, mainly upon imports to meet ration requirements. Production of wheat and rye in continental Europe has dropped from a prewar average of 59 million tons to only 31 million tons in 1945. Even to maintain supplies at 25 percent below normal, import requirements in 1945-46 amount to 15.6 million tons against a prewar average of 3.7 million tons.

Is Starvation Possible?

"Starvation" is a word of various meanings, from death caused directly by lack of food, to long, extreme hunger which may not kill its victim but leaves him too weakened to resist death from disease or cold. Moreover, every great famine leaves its mark for at least a full generation in broken health, shortened lives and stunted growth. The U. S. Department of Agriculture estimates that the world's harvests of 1945-46 brought forth one-eighth less food per person than in the average year before the war. According to Herbert Hoover's report, the one-eighth less food just mentioned—one-fourth in Europe—is enough to endanger 800 million people.

How Many People Are in Danger?

If the 800 million people mentioned by Hoover were to receive no more aid, and if it were assumed that their own remaining resources could be evenly distributed—which is impossible—the measure of their hunger with the caloric yardstick would be something like this: about 100 million people would have to get along on 2,000 calories; another 100 million on 1,800 calories; about 150 million on 1,500 and another 150 million on 1,200 calories; and about 300 million would be reduced to a 900-calory level, or below —*i.e.*, slow death.

PER CAPITA FOOD CONSUMPTION IN CALORIES, PREWAR AND JAN. 1, 1946 IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

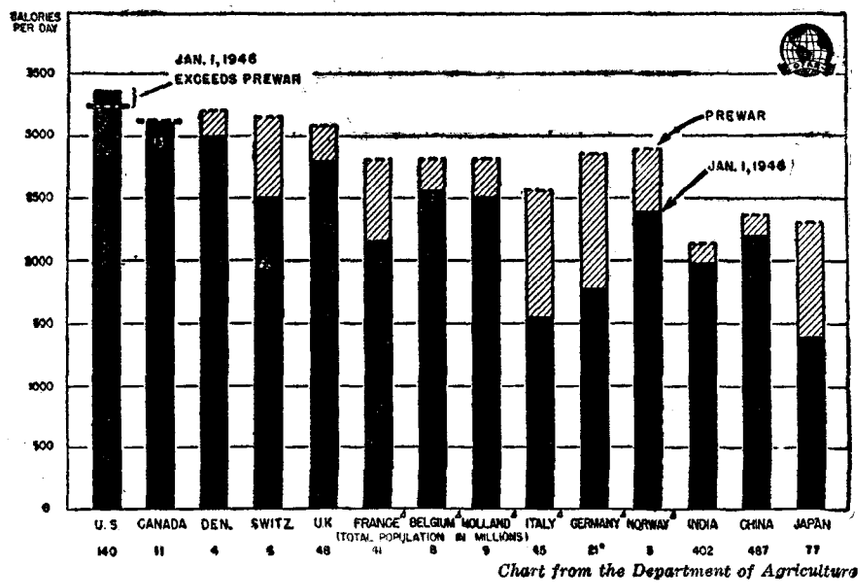

Chart from the Department of Agriculture

What About Children?

Children in particular are in great danger of starving. The annual infant-mortality rate in European cities is as high as 200 per 1,000 among children under one year of age. There are today between 20 and 30 million physically subnormal children on the Continent.

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What Countries Are Hardest-Hit?

There are no absolute standards for judging the urgency of relief to specific countries. In some, like India or China, with their huge populations, many people have been hungry even in "normal" times. However, a desperate famine, due chiefly to the worldwide rice shortage, threatens India. The situation has steadily deteriorated since the beginning of the year. Last December, annual grain-import needs were estimated at 1.3 million tons; today the figure has been revised upwards threefold. Unless aid is quickly made available, the all-Indian famine this summer will far surpass the localized Bengal tragedy of 1943.

What About Europe?

The nutrition picture in the so-called UNRRA countries of Central and Eastern Europe is indeed a grim one. In Austria the April calory allotment per individual was 908 daily; it was reduced to 867 for May. In Yugoslavia, during the last days of April, there were some favored sections where people got 1,200 to 1,400 calories daily, but in other regions, mainly Bosnia and Croatia, the average was 770. In Greece, Athens reported ration scales of 1,004 calories in April, but they have now been reduced to 784. In Poland and in many parts of Italy the situation is even worse.

What Does China Need?

The relief needs of China, ravaged by 15 years of continuous war, are different, less direct, though more stupendous. Her inland-transport system is smashed. It is not extensive enough to move locally produced or imported supplies now on hand. The first task in China is, therefore, not food relief, but providing trucks and rail equipment, barges and small coastal and river boats.

How Much Food Is Needed?

Last March, the Combined Food Board in Washington estimated that between June and the fall harvest 26 million tons of cereal would be required to satisfy the demands of the needy nations. But supplies were estimated at only 15 million tons. An average of more than eight million tons of rice was required before the war to balance the needs of importing countries. It is estimated that only a fourth of this is available in 1946. Ten billion pounds of exportable fats and oils are needed to meet the requirements of the world, but the available supply is 3.5 billion pounds less than this. Twelve million tons of exportable sugar are needed, but only eight million are available.

Where Can Cereals Be Obtained?

The United States, Canada, Australia and Argentina are endeavoring to increase the amount of cereals that can be exported, particularly by reducing carry-over stock levels. The 1945 wheat production in the United States was the largest on record, about 3.5 times as large as the slightly below-average crop in Canada. Wheat crops in Argentina were about 30 percent below average for each of the last two harvests, and shipments were handicapped by a breakdown in the country's transportation system. Australia was also hit by the 1944 drought, forcing production down to less than a third of normal. The present output, though larger, is still about 20 percent below average.

How Can This Country Help?

We can increase our wheat export program for the period April 1 to June 30 from 125 million to 250 million bushels. We can increase meat exports for the same period from the 700 million pounds to which we are committed, to 1,500 million pounds, by drawing on Army and Navy reserves and civilian supplies, and replacing them from an expanded slaughtering program. We can fulfill our rice-export commitments by repurchasing stocks already in distribution channels in this country.

We can double export shipments of fats and oils by using stocks not essential in this country, and by an expanded hog-slaughtering program. We can treble exports of needed dairy products, especially cheese, and evaporated, condensed and dried milk, both by increased production and cuts in unnecessary consumption.

We can, above all, follow the Canadian program of maintaining the volume of war-increased farm production and restricting domestic consumption: farmers should be urged to obtain the maximum yield of foodstuffs over the next four years; consumers should be urged to save in the use of wheat and wheat products; and priorities for export rail transport should be established.

Is Rationing Necessary?

Yes, it is. At present, we are risking everything on a voluntary program—and such voluntary programs have never worked yet. Immediate rationing in the United States may save millions of lives. We have no right to take chances in a matter of such importance. Rationing should be instituted, and at once.

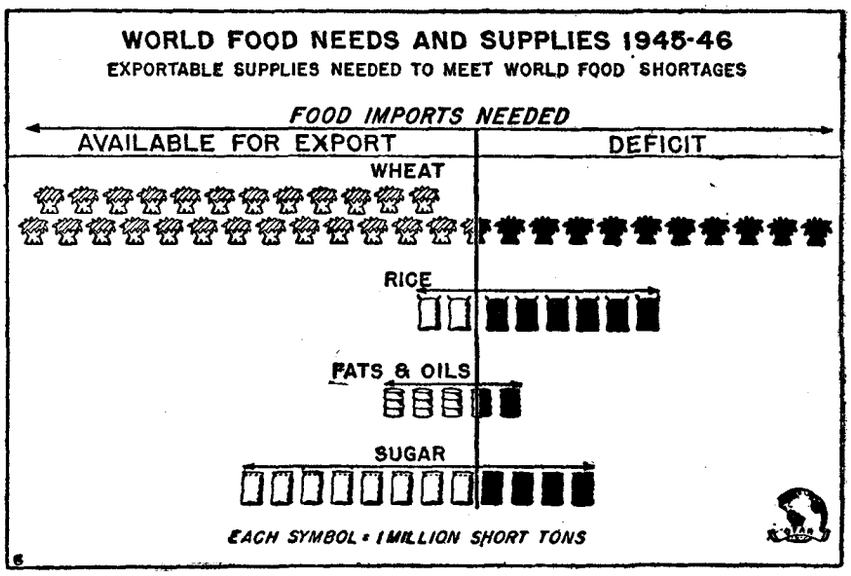

Chart from the Department of Agriculture

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Has Truman Lost Labor?

by Helen Fuller

HARRY TRUMAN may have listened to the advice of his old pals around the White House once too often. Today almost all labor and liberal leaders agree that his labor-conscription proposal of May 25 has killed any chance of his being elected President in 1948. The Democratic National Committee staff cannot hide its deep concern over the political hurricane Truman's speech to Congress stirred up. And the Republicans do not bother to hide their glee.

In his angry determination to get the trains running on time again, Truman made the mistake of taking a leaf from the book of another man who made railroad history, Benito Mussolini. It is still too soon to judge whether this action represents a conscious turn to the right by Truman himself or merely bad judgment in taking advice. Whichever is correct, the Democrats are in a much weaker position so far as both the '46 and the '48 elections are concerned than they were two weeks ago. And Harry Truman personally is much worse off than his party.

Truman fathered the most drastic anti-labor legislation ever proposed by an American President, and American labor will not forget it. Democratic politicians who think they will are wrong. Individual members of all branches of organized labor know what Truman tried to do to them and will stay mad about it for a long, long time. The leaders would have a hard time making up with Truman even if they wanted to—and they don't. The memory of U. S. labor, on the Truman anti-strike bill, some think, will be as long as the memory of British labor has been on the anti-labor Trade Disputes Act which they have just now succeeded in repealing after years of united opposition to it.

But this animosity to Truman personally will not necessarily carry over to the Democratic Party as a whole. Murray, Green, Whitney, Hillman and Ickes have all denounced the Truman bill in the strongest possible language, but this does not mean that they will boycott all Democratic candidates in the 1946 congressional elections or that they will cancel any part of the political-action program they have laid out for individual and collective efforts by their organizations this year. The plan was to support men for Congress who will fight for labor's full-employment and security program. That will still go. But some not-too-strong Democrats in industrial areas who would have automatically received labor backing before May 25 now will get it only if they come out against the President on the anti-labor bill. And candidates in marginal districts who were relying on a general get-out-the-vote campaign by labor to carry them in, will lose unless they can inspire enough local enthusiasm on their own to get the job done.

Two weeks ago the Democratic National Committee believed that the party was sure to make a better showing in 1946 than it did in 1942. Today it has no such illusion, and some Democratic leaders for the first time in this campaign privately admit the possibility that they will lose control of the House. The pre-May 25 optimism was based largely on wider interest in the election than was true in '42 and the probability of a good-sized vote; labor support is the foundation of a large Democratic vote, and now the President has thrown that vote into a highly speculative category.

BUT LABOR won't go out and vote Republican just because it hates Truman, experienced labor politicians remind you. And labor will be just as interested as it ever was in putting its full strength behind the social legislation Truman has fought for in the past—and just as eager to help Democratic leaders push it through if and when they can and will. It will be a good thing for the whole country if, as a result of this loss of faith in Truman's leadership, the coalition of liberal Republicans and Democrats is given more importance and support.

Looking forward to 1948, in the event that we should be faced with a choice between Truman and Bricker for President, labor most certainly would not rush to Bricker's aid just because of its feeling against Truman. But it would also be unlikely that labor leaders could convince their members that a Democratic victory was so important that they should put all their energy into working for the ticket regardless of Truman. There would be more lethargy than doorbell-ringing, and the Republicans would benefit.

But even if Truman is the Democratic candidate, there is practically no chance of a third party developing from labor and liberals. Progressive leaders have given too much thought to third-party possibilities and have seen the dangers too clearly to be pushed into such a move in the heat of anger. It is no less true now than it was before May 25 that the best hope of liberals in this country is again to gain control of the Democratic Party, and responsible leaders on the progressive side are not going to forget it. A third-party move, if attempted, would be more than hopeless without a compelling national figure to head it. Henry Wallace, most often mentioned in this connection by those who favor such a course, shows no signs of lending himself to any such plan. On the contrary,

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he has repeatedly made it clear to anyone who would listen that whether he be inside or outside of Truman's cabinet, he will fight to keep liberals in the Democratic Party and to keep the party liberal.

THE REPUBLICANS have amassed definitely valuable capital for the '48 campaign out of Truman's irresponsible action. Senator Taft advanced the general cause of his party and the standing of his own group within it by his quick action in denouncing Truman's labor-draft plan and by playing a leading role in blocking Administration efforts to steam-roller it through the Senate as well as the House. This has given Taft, as well as Morse and Stassen, an undeniably strong talking point with independent voters for '48.

It is Democratic Chairman Bob Hannegan's job to try to put the pieces of the old New Deal coalition back together again. Probably no one knows better than he how great are the odds against him, for it must be admitted that Hannegan has made at least a few efforts in the past to remove some of the danger spots in the Administration. The unusual coolness between Truman and Hannegan recently is due to his having spoken out about the incompetence of some of the President's inner circle and having been temporarily frozen out of it for his trouble. Hannegan did not see Truman's message to Congress before it was delivered. Most of his time since then has been spent in figuring out how to regain the lost ground.

The men who were in on the plan to use military force against the free operation of labor were: Reconversion Director John Snyder, Attorney General Clark, presidential assistants George Allen and John Steelman, and Naval Aide Clark Clifford. Snyder, Truman's old Missouri war buddy, has made no secret of his belief that we should have a law forbidding all strikes for the period of reconversion, to stop labor from messing up *his* reconversion program. Tom Clark's labor ideas seem to go back to his upbringing in Dallas, famous as the "greatest open-shop town in the United States." George Allen, big business' Washington representative and Truman's personal political expert, although he has never delivered a precinct, kept telling the President throughout the railway controversy how popular it would be to take a poke at labor. Allen either lacked the sense or the honesty to tell Truman the basic truth Roosevelt had learned about similar opportunities for popularity: that you can please 85 percent of the vocal public by such an action at such a time, but that in reality about 48 percent of those are Republicans and probably no more than 37 percent are Democrats; on election day the Republicans don't remember their pleasure with votes, and the 15 percent, mostly Democrats, who were displeased, still are.

Naval Aide Clark Clifford, chosen for his job because before the war he was the lawyer for his successor James K. Vardaman's now defunct shoe company in St. Louis, was used on the final drafting of the labor-conscription bill, as was Assistant Secretary of War Kenneth Royall.

Of all these men involved, John Steelman at least, experienced as he is in labor mediation, should have told the President what an error he was making. But for many months now Steelman has been so preoccupied with his ambition to succeed Lewis Schwellenbach as Secretary of Labor that he has had time for nothing except "yessing" Truman and Snyder. Labor's stoutest champion, Senator Claude Pepper, tried unsuccessfully to see the President both before his radio address and before his speech to Congress to give him facts and help. Truman wanted neither.

AS SOON as he saw the extent of the political disaster Truman's Saturday speech had caused, Hannegan hurried to all the top labor men to ask their indulgence and promised to try to straighten things out. The labor men were polite but noncommittal. Hannegan took Tom Clark with him to the Hill to try to stop the Republican move to kill the draft section of the bill until Truman could announce the coal settlement and himself ask that that red-flag section be dropped. They failed to persuade even Majority Leader Barkley to help them out. The Republicans walked off with the credit for defeating the draft. But there are still two years to go to 1948, and Truman could conceivably hold his job if he returned now to the Roosevelt program and stuck with it.

Progressive leaders who have dealt fairly successfully with Hannegan during the last year or so feel sorry for him in his present predicament, but are in no mood to give his boss any breaks on that account. They understand all too clearly the kind of dynamite Truman is tossing around, and they know that Hannegan's patching-up activities do not strike at the real reasons for Truman's dangerous action. Truman did not understand why the current labor crisis developed —that his own actions made it inevitable. One basically wrong decision made last August, to take wartime controls off rapidly and to take them off capital faster than off labor, precluded any other result. Contract termination and surplus-property disposal for management were quickly provided; unemployment compensation, wage adjustments and price control were left neglected. The Administration failed to divert profits to wages rather than to soaring dividends, and the pattern for strikes to meet the higher cost of living was set. When the showdown came, Truman was unwilling to take on the tough job of keeping the economy in balance, and refused to back up his own fact-finding system—at that time a step in the right direction.

It will take more than political finesse to get Truman out of this present dilemma. At the moment in which he urged abolition of the free labor movement in America, Harry Truman took this country closer

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to fascism than it had ever come before. Labor will not, and should not, forgive or forget this. Certainly Truman has absolutely no right to reconsideration by progressives until he has repudiated his own anti-labor bill and set about correcting the monopoly situations that have resulted from his friend Snyder's surrender of reconversion controls.

As of now, there is little chance that Harry Truman personally can win back the support of labor. There is little chance that the Democratic Party will lose it.

Labor and the National Economy

by Senator James E. Murray

In recent months we have witnessed a series of strikes from one end of the country to the other.

We have also witnessed an increasing demand for constructive action by Congress—action to avoid the ill effects of these strikes and to promote cooperation and industrial peace.

I am one of those who believe that the situation calls for the most careful and constructive legislation, in order to avert further confusion and discord. America is no longer an agricultural country; it has become a highly complex industrialized economy in which the laissez-faire theory of government is completely outmoded. Government cannot stand idly by.

But the American people are sick and tired of having every strike situation used as an excuse for a frenzied drive to provide special privileges for some and to forestall a statesmanlike program of effective action. They want a realistic and comprehensive program that will deal with the real causes of conflicts between capital and labor and usher in a period of coöperation and peaceful prosperity and expansion.

Cause number one has been the rapid increase in the cost of living. As a result of the war, the cost of living has gone up 24 percent since 1941, and 12 to 15 percent since October, 1942, when wage stabilization went into effect.

Average weekly wages for all manufacturing have gone up only 6.1 percent since October, 1942. In fact they have not kept pace with even the official cost of living. And they have, of course, fallen far short of the actual rise in living costs if black-market prices and deterioration of quality are taken into account.

Moreover, take-home pay has been dropping rapidly in recent months. As a result of reduction in both hourly pay and weekly hours, average weekly wages for January, 1946, were 13.1 percent below those of January, 1945.

That is not the whole story, however; when the American worker demands an increase in base pay, he is not asking for more money *for the same work.* His output per hour is substantially above what it was back in 1941 when his basic wages were frozen to the cost of living under the "Little Steel" formula. Output per man-hour has risen about five percent each year since 1935, or close to 50 percent.

There is also the question of what has happened to profits. The lag of wages behind productivity is evidence enough that profits have been swelling out of all proportion. And the figures certainly verify this conclusion. During the war period of 1942 to 1945, average annual corporate profits were approximately $23 billion, or more than *four* times the average of the prewar 1936-1939 period. And even after deduction of taxes, the annual average was more than $9 billion, or two and one-half times the comparable average for 1936-1939.

The greatest cause of strikes today is the profiteer who sees in a period of short supply, the natural aftermath of the war, an excellent opportunity to increase his profits at the expense of the American people. The answer to the rising cost of living is clear. On the one hand, we need an extension of the Price Control Act for an adequate period of time, without crippling amendments, together with adequate funds for administration and enforcement. On the other hand, we need extension of the minimum-wage law, without inflationary amendments, to allow those now receiving substandard wages to come just a little bit closer to catching up with the cost of living.

A second cause of labor disputes, in my opinion, is the rapid growth of monopoly and the concentration of business and industry in the hands of a small group.

There are some who seem to think that the problem of prices and the cost of living is a strictly temporary phenomenon occasioned merely by the shortages resulting from the war. As soon as we recover from wartime shortages, they claim, the law of supply and demand will come into its own, and prices will be determined on the basis of competition between business enterprises.

This approach reveals an appalling ignorance of the economic facts of life. Prices are no longer determined primarily on the basis of competition. Prices are in-

James E. Murray, one of the outstanding progressives in the United States Senate, has served as Senator from Montana for twelve years. His article in this issue is based on his address in the Senate on Friday, May 24, just before President Truman's broadcast on the railroad strike.

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creasingly controlled by the handful of monopoly interests which dominate almost every branch of our economy. Monopoly control means higher prices—prices that drive the wage earner to demand higher wages. Monopoly prices mean higher profits for the privileged few—profits that sharpen the contrast between the position of capital and the position of labor and make it inevitable that the wage earners demand a larger share of the national income. Monopoly profits mean vast economic power in the hands of a few business enterprises—power to force their employees out on strike and to sustain, with little trouble, the losses resulting from the strike. Monopoly economic power means the political power to gain control of parties, to elect members of federal, state and local governments, to destroy democratic principles and to block liberal legislation.

DURING the period between World War I and World War II monopoly power in America grew by leaps and bounds. Since the end of World War II, large industrial and business concerns have been steadily absorbing smaller firms. In the fourth quarter of 1945, the rate of mergers and acquisitions in manufacturing was higher than at any other time in the previous decade and a half. This should be a warning to all of us that *monopoly is on the march.*

The growing political power of monopoly is evidenced in many ways. There is the current drive to cut the anti-trust law to shreds by exempting insurance companies, railroads and newspapers and by preventing adequate appropriations for the Anti-Trust Division. There is the attempt to tighten banker control of the railroads. There is the drive of the power trust against the Missouri Valley Authority and other similar measures which would tend to promote small business and new competitive enterprises in the industrially backward areas of the country. There is the campaign of the large banks against any public program that would make capital available for small business and competitive enterprises. Above all, there is the current campaign to restrict the rights of labor and entrench monopoly control over the lives and destinies of the American people.

The answer to the problem of monopoly lies in a broad program to prevent increased concentration of economic power, to break up monopolies where this is at all possible, and to devise appropriate forms of public control over monopolies that cannot be broken down.

A third cause of labor disputes is our present system of taxation. For many years, the tax burden in America has fallen too heavily upon the shoulders of those least able to pay.

But during the last few years, we have seen a new device in the history of taxation, a new method whereby monopoly is enabled to enhance its economic and political power. I refer to the carry-back and carry-forward provisions of the tax laws. In essence, these provisions mean that every corporation has been given a postwar reserve equal to the total amount of normal taxes and excess-profits taxes paid during the preceding two years. It is provided that out of this reserve, the United States Treasury compensates corporations at the rate of 81 cents on every dollar of decreased income and 81 cents on every dollar of loss.

The remedy for this situation is a complete revision of the tax structure—a revision that will not only provide for taxation in accordance with the ability to pay but will also wipe out all provisions of the tax laws that subsidize strikes.

A fourth cause for labor disputes is the lack of a national system of health insurance. The ever imminent threat of accident and disease is an important factor in the demand for higher wages. In the absence of an adequate insurance fund to meet the costs of medical and hospital care, the only security for the worker and his family can be a larger bank account.

A fifth cause of labor disputes is bad housing. It would be extremely helpful, I submit, to have additional housing legislation which would set up a program to eliminate the company-housing problem.

A sixth cause of labor disputes is the failure of Congress to extend the social-security laws. It was early in the course of the war that Congress set up its insurance fund for corporations through the carry-back and carry-forward provisions of the tax laws. *There was no delay on that measure.* But when the proposal was made to improve unemployment compensation as part of the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act, only then did we see the strategy of delay and obstruction used with respect to real reconversion legislation.

The insecurity of American workers is a most vital factor—both economic and psychological—in the development of labor disputes.

A SEVENTH CAUSE of labor disputes—and one of the most important of all—is the apparent effort on foot in recent years to weaken or destroy existing labor laws. It is a well known fact that a substantial proportion of the biggest corporations in America have not yet reconciled themselves to the principles of collective bargaining. They still hark back to the good old days of "yellow-dog contracts," the company spy and the company union. If the present drive for anti-labor legislation is successful, I am convinced that it will only encourage and stimulate those who want to see an extension of monopolistic control of our country. The answer to this situation is less anger, less heat and less of a desire in Congress to carry out economic policies which encourage corporate monopoly. The answer is a broad and well conceived program to remedy the causes of labor disputes, restore genuine free enterprise and promote the peaceful settlement of our domestic problems.

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Another basic cause for the failure to settle labor disputes and prevent strikes is the lack of adequate machinery for the mediation and arbitration of labor disputes. The present Conciliation Service has suffered from inadequate funds, insufficient personnel, low salaries and the lack of sufficient prestige.

THERE ARE two courses ahead of the American people. One is the road to an expanding economy of full employment and full production. If we take this course it means legislation dealing with the many factors that affect disputes between labor and management. It means affirmative action with respect to price control, monopoly, taxation, health, housing, social security, mediation machinery and other related matters.

It means translating into reality the promise which Congress made to the American people in the Employment Act of 1946. This is the road to labor peace.

But there is another course that lies ahead of us. That is the road of boom and bust, of feast and famine. That is the road that seems to be preferred by those who advocate a floating pool of unemployed in order to keep labor in its place. This is the road down which our country would travel if we followed the lead of the speculators, monopolists and profiteers.

To those who look forward with glee to the prospect of boom-time profits and depression bargains, legislation to impair or destroy the rights of labor appears both desirable and necessary.

If we are to make our free-enterprise system operate successfully, we must decisively and courageously choose the road to full employment and full production—the road toward the enlargement and expansion of our economy to meet the demands of our country in the period ahead.

Liberals and the Labor Crisis

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S action in calling for repressive labor legislation has created a political crisis of the first magnitude for those independent liberals and trade unionists who have been supporting him and his administration. In view of his repudiation of the most important principles of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal, can the breach ever be healed? What political realignments should now be sought? Is a third party possible, and if so, is it desirable?

The *New Republic* has telegraphed to a number of well known progressives, inside and outside the labor movement, asking for their comments on the new political situation. The replies received up to the hour of going to press are published below. Others will appear in subsequent issues as they come in.

Clark Foreman, director, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare: In view of the recent moves toward fascism in this country, it is more than ever important for the progressives to have a program and to work together. We must not let ourselves be hampered by those who call themselves liberals but spend most of their time trying to disrupt the progressive movement. Neither should we isolate ourselves from the major parties by forming separate parties of our own.

The most important thing now is to work together to get good Senators and Representatives. Every progressive should concentrate on this from now until November. Those who do not live in states where fascist-minded candidates are up for election can send money to the progressive committees that are working for good candidates throughout the country.

Next, we must prepare for the Democratic and Republican presidential conventions. This time we must not make the mistake of not having the delegates necessary to nominate good men. We are all paying the price now for our negligence in 1944.

Dr. Frank Kingdon, chairman, National Citizens' Political Action Committee: It is impossible to generalize on a national basis about the next step to be taken by independent progressives. In some states, like Minnesota, it is possible for progressives to organize and take over the Democratic Party organization. In other states, like New York, this is impossible, so that the progressives have to put their effort into the creation and building of a third party. In a good many states, possibly twenty, state laws make it almost impossible for a third party to get on the ballot. Therefore, I would suggest a twofold program. First, the organization of progressive citizens' committees in every state, and, second, action by these committees in the light of state laws involved. The one fact evident is that progressive forces must be organized and financed for practical political action.

James Loeb Jr., executive director, the Union for Democratic Action: Barring an immediate reversal of policy to regain labor's confidence, President Truman's frenzied action may well: (1) Weaken progressive forces in this year's congressional elections; (2) assure Truman's defeat in 1948; and (3) effect the nomination and probable election of John Bricker in 1948, since clearly, the Republican bigwigs will nominate the most reactionary candidate they think can win. Thus, third-party possibilities following the congressional elections seem improved. However, the most disastrous result for liberalism would be a hasty, ill conceived and ill prepared third party. Before any formal or public steps are taken, all the potential progressive forces must be consulted. This is my personal opinion, not that of the organization I represent.

Senator Wayne Morse (R, Ore.): In my opinion, the President's attempt, with the aid of most of the Democrats in Congress, to ram through a clearly unconstitutional labor bill in violation of the civil rights and liberties not only of workers but of all citizens in America, has made it very clear, not only to liberals but to the great majority of the American people, that it is of imperative importance that there be a change of administration in 1948.

I think it is also perfectly clear that liberalism as a party policy is dead within the Democratic Party. Its Southern reactionaries, aided and abetted by the President and his advisers, have destroyed any chance of a liberal program within that party. I hold no brief for the reactionaries among the Republicans, but I would point out that there is at least a fighting

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chance for the adoption of a sound liberal program in 1948 by the GOP if the voters of this country will demand that those in control of Republican Party machinery must either nominate sound middle-of-the-road liberals or expect the voters to cross lines and vote for good men irrespective of party.

I am opposed to the formation of a third party for many reasons, the chief one being that it is not at all necessary in order to obtain a much-needed liberal program if the rank-and-file voters in the Republican ranks will only proceed to take an active interest in their party's policies and problems, from the grass-roots precinct committee meetings straight through state and national organizational meetings. The liberals of the country have an opportunity to support able Republican candidates, and will have only themselves to blame if reactionaries are nominated in 1948.

Reinhold Niebuhr, chairman, the Union for Democratic Action: The President's ill advised action in the railroad strike makes a contest in the next Democratic convention inevitable and a split in the party likely. But any third party emerging from such a split cannot succeed without the support of the Republican Left. The Republican Party, however, will not be divided if it has the hope of labor's support in its unreconstructed state. Therefore, without a greater political unity in the labor movement, third parties are doomed to futility. It's up to labor.

James Patton, president, the National Farmers' Union: The immediate effect of the President's action will be to sharpen the division within both parties between liberals and conservatives. It will not be possible to affect the result of the 1946 congressional elections by any third-party efforts, although much may, of course, be done on behalf of liberals in both parties. But the showdown will come in the 1948 conventions of the two major parties. If it should be possible for liberals to gain control of either party, there will be no point to third-party movements. If conservative elements dominate both, we may well enter upon a period similar to that of the 1850's, when party lines disintegrated and a new major party was formed.

Senator Claude Pepper (D, Fla.): The labor situation shows the extremities to which the reactionaries in our country would go to crush the liberal movement. Today that movement is challenged by strong forces of reaction which are trying to grind down the leaders in the movement for freedom and democracy. American liberals, firmly united, have the opportunity to win this battle and to lead our country toward a truly prosperous and democratic world. They must accept this challenge. Through united action, we believers in true democracy can win by carrying our message to the people.

These opinions, taken as a whole, add up into a program which seems to us right and wise. To start a third party now would be almost impossible for various reasons, including the laws of some of the states which practically prohibit such a thing. Any such effort would mean a Republican victory in 1948, and probably with a candidate, like former Governor Bricker of Ohio, whose occupancy of the White House would be a world disaster.

But in the meantime, there is plenty the progressives can do. We can fight for the election of good men to Congress this fall, irrespective of party. We can try to drive home to the American people the ominous tendency President Truman's new course creates. The difference his actions have made is to show us that it is later than we thought and that the time for action is now, if we are to halt the drift toward a totalitarian state.

Ships, Money and the USMC

"Operation Plunder," Fourth Instalment

by Allen Bernard

WE HAVE SEEN, in a preceding article, how the American shipping industry during the war was able to evade the requisition for title of most of its vessels, chartering them instead to the government for extravagant fees and earning enormous wartime profits at the expense of the taxpayer.

Under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, the United States Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration were empowered to requisition these vessels at book value. The government agencies, in the great majority of cases, did not choose to exercise this power. Even when they did take ships for title, the record shows they paid the shipowners as high as 16 times the book value of the vessels taken.

Obsolete hulks, originally purchased from the government at $5 to $15 a ton, were sold back to the government 10 years later at $60 a ton. *Vessels sold to private owners after World War I at from 2½ to 8 cents on the construction dollar were repurchased by the government during World War II at 33 cents on the same dollar.*

Up to February, 1944, the USMC and the WSA bought 69 ships, all of them 20 or more years old, paying the owners an average of $382,000 per vessel. That price, according to conservative estimates, represents 7 to 10 times the book value of these ships.

In 1941, for example, the USMC bought eight vessels, from 21 to 31 years old and with a scrap value of only about $260,000 in all, from the Southern Pacific Company's Morgan Line. It paid the company $3,170,720 for these ships—about seven times their worth. In

This is the fourth of a series of articles by Allen Bernard. Mr. Bernard has had long experience on newspapers and magazines in New York and in Mexico City, where he was publisher of an English-language newspaper. At present a free-lance writer in New York, he has for many years been interested in the problems of the merchant-marine.

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a report to Congress on this transaction, the Comptroller General said:

> There is evidence that the Commission utterly disregarded its responsibilities to the Congress and the taxpayers of the United States in pursuing a course of action which was unsound and improvident at the very outset and could lead only to waste and extravagance in the expenditure of public funds.

The record also refers to an offer by the USMC of $7,200,000 to the American-Hawaiian Line for 11 ships, built between 1920 and 1921. Their aggregate value, on the company's books, was only $299,307.

"The extent to which the United States Treasury is being raided, with the consent of the Maritime Commission, is almost unbelievable," Senator Charles Aiken of Vermont told Congress in 1943. He cited as evidence the case of the Waterman Steamship Corporation.

On June 8, 1940—nine months after the war began, and President Roosevelt issued his proclamation of limited emergency—the USMC sold five vessels of its laid-up fleet to Waterman for an aggregate price of $896,000 (about $13.76 per ton). The USMC reserved an option to buy back these same vessels at any time for the sales price, plus cost of any improvements made by Waterman, minus depreciation.

In November, 1941, instead of exercising its option, the USMC requisitioned five other and older Waterman vessels, paying the company an aggregate price of $3,374,700 (about $13.76 per ton).

In August, 1942, the Comptroller General made a report of this transaction to Congress, declaring he had turned it over to the Attorney General for investigation and that charges would be brought against Waterman to force a refund of $1,995,602 to the Treasury. After long delay, and faced with an impending scandal, the USMC was forced to take cover. In October, 1943, Admiral Land, chairman of the Commission, advised the Comptroller General that the matter had been satisfactorily concluded. Two of the vessels under option had been sunk while under charter, but the other three had been taken over by the government in accordance with the terms of the original agreement.

It was a hollow victory for the taxpayer: Waterman was permitted to pocket its profit of $2,778,700 from the sale of five obsolete vessels to the government, at only 15 times their book value.

IT HAS been argued, in extenuation of USMC and WSA policies during the war, that the need for vessels was so urgent at that time that these agencies were forced to purchase or charter every vessel they could lay hands on, at any price.

How then explain the Commission's action in selling, throughout the war, every desirable new vessel built by the government as fast as it was launched? By the end of 1945 the USMC had sold 168 cargo ships and 68 tankers of its war-built fleet. Immediately after thus getting rid of these vessels, it chartered them back from their new owners, paying charter hire amounting to 15 percent annually on the owners' total investment.

This operation, as may be expected, was extremely profitable to the shipowners, and extremely costly to the taxpayers. The record shows that scores of old hulks were turned in on new vessels, with allowances averaging $676,000 for old cargo ships and running as high as $1,150,000 each for old tankers.

The sales contracts of new vessels, sold by the USMC during the war, contains a clause binding the Commission to adjust the stipulated price downward, to correspond with the prices set by Congress for similar surplus vessels after war's end.

In accordance with terms of the ship-disposal bill passed by Congress last February, this clause alone will cost the taxpayers an additional $89 million.

IT IS readily apparent to readers who have followed these articles thus far that the success of "Operation Plunder"—the tremendous raid on the Treasury by the shipping interests during the last war—was principally due to a failure on the part of the United States Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration properly to defend the public interest.

In this connection, Senator Aiken on February 18 of this year told Congress:

> When an examination of Maritime Commission affairs has been brought up to date, it will be the most shocking story of collusion, corruption and disregard of public interest ever presented against an agency of the United States Government.

Who were the members of the USMC and the WSA during the war, when these two agencies were so generous to the shipowners with the public's money?

Chairman of the USMC and Administrator of the WSA was Vice Admiral Emory S. Land (USN, Retired). Admiral Land is chiefly famous for a speech before the American Investment Bankers' Association on October 19, 1942, in which he is quoted as having said that he would solve the nation's labor problems by "*shooting union organizers at sunrise.*" On January 16, 1946, Land resigned from the government to take a position as president of the Association of Air Lines.

Vice-chairman of both the USMC and the WSA during the war was Rear Admiral Howard L. Vickery (USN, Retired). He was in charge of the ship-construction program and thus responsible, it was charged in Congress, for the squandering of many millions of dollars. When Admiral Vickery resigned, effective January 1, 1946, it was rumored that he would join the American Bureau of Shipping (the shipowners' association) in New York. He died last March.

A third member of the Commission, Thomas M. Woodward, was not reappointed by President Truman when his term expired last year.

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The two remaining members of the wartime Commission are Captain Edward Maccauley (USN, Retired) and John M. Carmody. The record shows that Captain Maccauley went along with his superiors, the two Admirals, on most decisions. Carmody, who has the reputation of being a good and honest administrator, generally found himself a minority of one when matters involving sound administration were decided.

During the war the USMC and the WSA were literally overrun with representatives of the shipowners. A list of 312 employees of the WSA, for example, shows that 186 had been on the payroll of shipping and shipbuilding companies, while many others were from closely associated fields like marine insurance and naval architecture. Some of these employees were still on the payroll of these companies while drawing WSA pay for their work. Several were employed in a rate-fixing or policy-making capacity by the USMC and the WSA. For example:

Pacific Coast director of the WSA was A. R. Lintner, vice-president of the American Mail Line. Six of his eight assistants in the government post formerly were employed by prominent steamship companies.

Chief of the purchasing section of the USMC was Charles E. Walsh Jr., on loan from the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, owners of the Calmar Steamship Corporation. Walsh bought practically all the steel used in the construction of government merchant vessels during the war.

The director of the Division of Wartime Insurance was Percy Chubb, of the firm of Chubb and Son. The senior Chubb was director of the Marine Insurance Market and of several British underwriters, with a long history of close association with the shipping industry. Assistant director of the same division was L. J. Haefner, secretary of the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company of San Francisco, which specializes in marine insurance.

General counsel to the WSA was William Radner. Formerly assistant general counsel to the USMC, Radner left that agency before the war to become an official of the Matson Steamship Company. When the WSA was organized in 1942, Radner was given leave by his company to return to government service.

Principal USMC employees active in negotiation of the notorious "Red Sea" charters, exposed in a previous article of this series, were two former United Fruit Company employees, Robson and Wilcox.

THE MANNER in which the two Admirals ran the government agencies pretty much to suit themselves, frequently not even bothering to consult their colleagues on important issues, was revealed early this year. A few days after Land resigned, the Comptroller General sent to Congress a burning indictment of the manipulations and bookkeeping procedures of the USMC and the WSA, through which $5,822,783,498 in public funds was said to be improperly accounted for up to June 30, 1943.

An audit of the records of these two agencies for that fiscal year, the Comptroller General said, revealed no less than 48 specific "major errors of omission or commission." So involved were these accounts that an audit of the records for 1944 will not be ready until June, 1946. Among the "errors" listed in the *Congressional Record* (January 23, 1946):

1. Erroneous payments for charter hire aggregating more than $844,000.
2. Vessels lost at sea aggregating more than $13 million still carried as an asset on June 30, 1943.
3. Failure to record depreciation on vessels in excess of $3.5 million.
4. Inclusion of over a billion dollars in assets of the Administration [WSA] covering expenses paid for other government agencies out of funds provided by them.
5. Failure to record over $50 million of accounts payable for repairs prior to June 30, 1943.
6. Failure to disclose actual liability for war-risk insurance claims as of June 30, 1943, of more than $250 million.

The final audit of the USMC accounts for 1943 reduced its accounts receivable by $57 million, reduced its accounts payable by $36 million and cut its net worth by more than $5 million. The final audit of WSA books for 1943 increased its cash by $4.5 million, increased accounts receivable by $195 million, increased accounts payable by more than $23.5 million, reduced capital and deficit by more than $605.5 million.

On November 19, 1945—two months before this involved juggling of public funds was laid before Congress—the Comptroller General sent Admiral Land a copy of the preliminary report. Land resigned on January 16, 1946. Yet the first inkling of this major indictment that the three remaining commissioners received was when they read it in the *Congressional Record* of January 23, according to a letter from Captain Maccauley, acting chairman of the Commission.

Senator Aiken charged in Congress that Land and R. Earl Anderson, finance director of the Commission, "carefully concealed the contents of the Comptroller General's report from other members of the Commission."

Anderson had been brought into the USMC by Admiral Land in 1938. It was he who recommended for approval the application of the Waterman Steamship Corporation to withdraw its tax-exempt construction fund from Maritime Commission control, two days before the Comptroller General sent the Commission an authorization to collect $1,995,602 from this fund on account of excess payments to Waterman by the USMC.

On February 7, Anderson was summarily ousted from his position as finance director of the USMC.

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Operation UNO[1]

by William P. Mangold

President: I call the 599th meeting of the Security Council to order. The item on the agenda for today is the Iranian question. The Australian delegate calls our attention to a BBC television broadcast from Iran last night in which he thinks he saw a bearded gentleman slinking down a dark alley in Teheran. He suggests that the Council appoint a commission to determine whether this was really a gentleman with a beard or a Russian in disguise.

(At this point, the delegate of the Soviet Union sneezed and, raising his hand, was recognized by the President of the Council.)

Soviet Union: A point of personal privilege, Mr. President.

President: Will the delegate state his point?

Soviet Union: I should like to request the President to ask the sergeant-at-arms to close the transom over the east entrance of the Council chamber. I feel a cold draft on my back.

President: If there is no objection, the request of the Soviet delegate will be granted. Are there any objections?

United States: My government has not had adequate opportunity to give this unexpected request of the Soviet delegate the careful study it deserves. Accordingly, I regret to say that I am unable to agree to it at this time.

Naturally, my government has every desire to give this matter its sympathetic consideration and to accommodate itself, if possible, to the views of the Soviet delegate. But, unfortunately, this particular request

raises the gravest questions of principle and procedure.

For example, this Council cannot ignore the fact that the request to have the transom closed is strictly—and I emphasize strictly—unilateral in nature. If we permit such unilateral action, what becomes of the United Nations? Especially the smaller ones?

Moreover, can we accept as fact that the Soviet delegate feels a draft simply on the basis of his own statement that he does? I myself feel no draft.

(At this point, the delegate of the Soviet Union sneezed again, in Russian.)

United States (turning to confer with the State Department's Russian expert): What did he say?

(Meanwhile, the President of the Council asked the interpreters to give the usual free French and English renditions, whereupon the discussion was resumed.)

United Kingdom: Mr. President, in the first place, I wish, if I may, to say that I endorse entirely what the representative of the United States has said. We have never before had a request to have the transom closed, such as the Soviet delegate confronts us with this afternoon, and I do not think we should accede to it without first giving it the most careful study and consideration. We may well be setting an unfortunate precedent which in the future will trouble us.

I think, therefore, we should be acting more wisely if we were to keep this matter on the agenda until some day in June or July, when the weather may have improved. Then, if all goes well and the weather does improve, it should be possible to register a satisfactory conclusion to the whole affair and it need not come up again here for discussion.

Poland: I feel obliged at this point, Mr. President, to observe on behalf of my government that I, too, feel a draft.

William P. Mangold, a former contributing editor of the New Republic, *was until recently CIO liaison representative with the Red Cross.*

[1] The improbable minutes of a meeting of the United Nations Security Council in February, 1956, assuming that it is still a going concern and still following the precedents and procedures established during its first forty-odd meetings.

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In addition, I should like to call the Council's attention to a clipping I have here from this morning's edition of the New York *Times*. This story, which was featured on the front page, gives us a summary of a special communique from the U. S. Weather Bureau. It states that it is—and I quote—"Cold and windy today, Min., 30; Max., 50"—unquote.

It is, therefore, the opinion of the Polish delegation that the Soviet delegate is quite within the provisions of the Charter in asking that the transom be closed.

The Netherlands: I am anxious, Mr. Chairman, that this question be viewed in the light of general principle and not merely as an isolated case. Now, out of my banking experience, I have just thought of a very sound reason for opposing the request of the Soviet delegate.

If I remember correctly, he asked to have the transom closed on a point—and I quote—"of personal privilege." Now in banking that would never do. When we lend money, we have certain well tried rules and regulations that apply to all borrowers, even those we utterly trust. Thus, in the opinion of my government, it would be contrary to sound practice and the Charter to permit unilateral action by granting special personal privileges.

Poland: May I point out, Mr. Chairman, that this matter is no longer unilateral? I, too, have asked to have the transom closed. I still feel a draft.

Australia: Mr. President, the question before this Council is whether the transom shall be closed for the reasons advanced by the Soviet delegate. Examining those reasons, it seems to me that the situation has not yet reached that stage of maturity in which the Council could consider agreeing to the Soviet proposal.

We have, I submit, no real information on this situation. Indeed, we have only conflicting reports and a news clipping. I believe our first duty is to ascertain the facts. I suggest that the Council appoint a committee of inquiry with instructions to return no later than a week from now with its official finding. Meanwhile, the Council can request the Weather Bureau to keep the Secretary General posted on any changes in the situation.

Soviet Union: I must say that I fail to understand why the members of the Council are not able to consent to the fully justified request that I have put forward in the name of my government. I stated quite clearly that I felt a cold draft on my back and that the transom should be closed.

Since the Council is unwilling to grant this entirely reasonable and logical request, I am now compelled to state that I am unable to stay longer in the Council chamber.

(At the end of the interpretation, the delegate of the Soviet Union and his advisers left the chamber. The Polish delegate remained seated, however, merely turning up his coat collar.

After a brief absence, the Soviet delegation returned, having had a brisk walk around the Hunter College campus. On taking his seat at the Council table, the Soviet delegate raised his hand and was recognized by the President.)

Soviet Union: Since our earlier discussion, Mr. President, the situation has changed completely. The sun was pleasantly warm outside, and I no longer feel the draft. It is clear that these circumstances render useless and senseless any further discussion of the matter by the Council. Therefore, I should like to withdraw my request to have the transom closed.

United States: The United States is naturally pleased to learn that the Soviet delegate no longer feels the draft. However, I must point out that once a situation is on the agenda, it must remain there until the Council itself disposes of it. Hence, in my opinion, the unilateral attempt of the Soviet delegate to remove this matter from the agenda is quite contrary to the Charter.

United Kingdom: It seems clear to me, if I may say so, that the Soviet delegate has reversed himself. In the light of that significant fact, my government feels that the Council would be failing in its duty if it took no further interest in the matter. It is still my hope that it will be kept on the agenda until summer, when, as I have said, it may well have become moot.

Soviet Union: During the discussion, I have entertained some doubt as to whether, behind the statements of some of the delegates, there was a real desire to see a peaceful solution to this matter. At the very moment when the reality situation shows there is no draft, certain representatives insist on making a maximum fuss about the matter.

Poland: I still feel a draft. Maybe it comes from the west.

Australia: It is clear that this is a matter for a committee of experts. We are still lacking authentic information. We are . . .

(At this point, the fire-drill bell at Hunter College rang, and the meeting was forced to recess while the delegates and guests filed out in orderly fashion.)

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French Primitive

THE FRENCH FILM, "It Happened at the Inn" (made during the occupation and having no political tone, not even an overtone), is so wayward that you feel a new director took over when the plot began to thicken, and from that time on you realize how much more serious the French are in their comedies than the Americans and how much less they roll you around in the aisles. The movie is about a family of peasants who operate a tavern in the French sticks and are as exciting in their own way as the Marx Brothers. The Goupis look as though they were cut out of particularly good turf, have a shopkeeper's mind for money—they spend every waking second trying to earn any kind of penny, honest or otherwise, and finding a safe place to keep it—and are clannish to a fault. The Goupis are dunked in a maze of inter-family farce and melodrama running all of the way from finding out who murdered Ten Drops to locating the family pot of gold, the secret of which lies buried in the dying great-grandfather (a lovable man who goes through the movie asking for a biscuit and a small glass of wine, never getting it, but never getting angry about it).

It is unlikely that you will forget any of the Goupis, even the Idiot who just gets in on the edge of scenes but bears the Goupi stamp of self-approval and has the eyes of a smart doe. Despite their air of unpretentiousness, the Goupis possess enough blood and thunder, individual charm, sense of superiority and moral responsibility (they don't use the police for anything—even murder; they have their own jail, do their own bloodhounding and are their own bank) to take them out of the rut in which most movie characters reside. The director, Jacques Becker, doubtless believes that they are wonderful people, that they typify the average Frenchman and that they will keep France running forever, and he does such a good job he makes you agree with him.

"It Happened at the Inn" is not so much a funny movie as it is a very understanding portrait of petty bourgeois done with more than average restraint. The best modern Hollywood comedies are a lot funnier but not half as shrewd about people. French directors like Becker point up the bizarreness of human frailty and leave it so close to a natural state that it generally makes you feel sorry for the people. The funniest scene in the picture has to do with three Goupis lugging the paralyzed great-grandfather around the house in a chair, hoping he will give a sign when they pass the treasure. The "Emperor" is not only in a state of stroke, but is large, raw-boned and Lincolnish, the chair is thronelike, the stairways are narrow and the Goupis have as much trouble transporting the "Emperor" as they would a piano on a circular staircase. This takes place at high noon on a hot day and the people are in their Sunday best. An American director would have played it in slapstick until he had covered up most of the movie. As it is, the scene takes a minimum of time and your main feeling is uneasiness—to think that greed could drive these characters to such a project; and worse, you feel sorry for them because they're not going to get anything out of it. The scene is funny enough played straight, the funniest thing being what you already know of the "Emperor," plus his impassive look while touring—it's obvious that he's not going to tell them a thing even if they step on the treasure. Also, his position is one of resting himself in a philosophical way—bent a little forward while the others carry on.

The backbone of the picture is Tonkin (Robert Le Vigny), the most tormented Goupi and the only one who doesn't look capable of living forever. He is constantly burning, suffering, getting angry in a light, narrow way, and is the most tragic person I have encountered in recent movies. Everything about the characterization, from the way he seems poured into his worn-out Legionnaire's uniform to the grace and spring of his movements, is fascinating. Pinchpenny (Arthur Devere) and the Law (Guy Faviere) are so intensely and ferociously themselves that, like a lot of peasants, they seem parodies of themselves. Primrose's father, the only serene Goupi, is also the only one that is sufficiently weathered and dusty for a peasant. It is hard to understand, though, how such a household produced a restrained, supercilious daughter like Primrose (Blanchette Brunoy).

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

SPAIN DEMOCRATIC
FRANCO DECLARES
Tells Enthusiastic Crowd That
Its Democracy Differs
From World's Idea

—*Head and subhead in the New York* Times.

At the same time an Orange County Republican Committee meeting at Goshen voted 209-14, to withhold support from any candidate having ALP or other left-wing support. The committee refused by the same vote to extend this ban to candidates having Ku Klux Klan, Christian Front or German-American Bund support. —*From* PM.

"Personally, I think it's an awkward clause [the 'white-artists-only' clause in Constitution Hall rental contracts] and I think it could be reworded more diplomatically," Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau of Greenwich, Conn., national chairman of the Daughters of the American Revolution resolutions committee, told reporters. . . . "We have had rows in the DAR before, but this isn't a racial-discrimination issue—it's a matter of DAR policy." —*From the Houston* Post.

Brave New World

A brand-new toy, "The Atomic Bomb." Here's a new fascinating toy with a natural appeal. It's all metal, fires by remote control. Goes off with a loud bang. Actually smokes on firing. —*Advertisement in the Atlanta* Journal.

Even As You and I

Dr. George Matthews, a distinguished psychiatrist, admits to his office a new "case" named Jacob Blunt, who, though seemingly normal, wears a red hibiscus in his hair and confesses to a strange connection with a number of dwarfs. —*From the jacket blurb of* The Deadly Percheron, *by John Franklin Bardin (Dodd, Mead).*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* —THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

What Happened in Rochester

SIR: Rochester has just emerged from a 14-day city administration-labor dispute that has ended in a victory for labor. The trouble began when about 100 city employees started to form a union. The city administration's answer to this move was to abolish 489 City Department of Public Works jobs, with the avowed intention of turning the work over to private contractors. Apparently, private contractors could not be found to undertake ash and garbage collections, and the city recreated the 489 jobs and undertook partial operations with new crews. Peaceful demonstrations by strikers and organized labor groups resulted in the arrest of 267 people, who were later released in $100 bail each. During all of this first stage the city refused to negotiate with the strikers or their representatives. Then, at the request of Governor Dewey and a committee of local ministers, the city began to consider terms of settlement. Negotiations broke down as a result of differences in interpretation of terms.

The AFL and CIO organized a one-day mass demonstration which pulled some 30,000 workers out of jobs and was followed by the city's capitulation, in the form of an agreement with the AFL-CIO strategy committee. All employees are returned to work and accepted "without prejudice." All disorderly charges against the pickets have been dropped and their bail ordered refunded. All city employees are accorded the right to join any organization "which is loyal to the United States and does not claim the right to strike against the public."

The attitude of the city administration, down to its final surrender, was short-sighted in the extreme. Its denial of the right to unionize, its arrest of peaceful pickets, its unwillingness to negotiate with the strikers and their supporters appeared to demonstrate not only a signal lack of practicality but also a disturbing indifference to democratic ideals. Rochester's unions are ably and intelligently led. They have fought a good fight and have won a great victory for the fundamental principles of American democracy.

Rochester, N. Y. GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

Progressives and Communists

SIR: A liberal leader is terrified when confronted with the necessity of making an extended public statement about the Communist role in the progressive movement. If he doesn't burst right out with a spirited and unequivocal repudiation of the entire party and all its substance, someone (probably a Communist) is sure to presume a tender spot in his heart for Stalin's little Red brotherhood. Mr. Loeb's *New Republic* letter,[1] was his repudiation, and a right dirty trick he has played on us poor devils who must disagree with him and yet must voice our disagreement so adroitly that we won't be gathered joyfully to the Communist bosom and loved to death.

Mr. Loeb is an honored friend of mine and I have infinite respect both for his brain and his judgment. Nevertheless, I am afraid that his thesis is just another warning, this time from a different direction, that "the Red Menace" is on us again and that our most important immediate objective is an all-out purge within our various liberal organizations. Because, if his unqualified premise—that the infiltration of communism inevitably will destroy the Left—is taken to be true, there is no marginal opinion allowed us, no shade of good or bad, and we must straightway launch a crusade to drive the destroyers from our midst.

Well, I'm just not willing to go along! Oh, I have no illusions about the "contribution" of the Communist Party to the Left. After many years' experience in the progressive movement, I've had my fill of their organizational machinations and share all of Mr. Loeb's feelings about their tactics, but the idea of dissipating even part of our limited resources on an endless witch-hunt is just too much for my migraine.

I will not believe that Mr. Loeb has analyzed fully the implications underlying his proposal. Essentially, there are two reasons for his opposition to Communist participation in liberal programs: (a) Their ideology and objectives are antithetic to our concept of democracy, and (b) their training in organizational strategy (however unprincipled) gives them a great advantage over the rest of us. I am in sad agreement with Mr. Loeb about this, but I do not see how anyone can build a tenable argument for exclusion based upon these propositions unless he (a) goes on record as opposing the very substance of human rights or (b) believes that we, the enlightened liberals of the land, are privileged to resort to a sort of desperate political segregation to overwhelm an opponent who, otherwise, is just too clever for us. Mr. Loeb will say that I have distorted the issue. I do not think I have. It seems clear that any *degree* of organized discrimination based upon ideological (or religious, or racial) difference is just as malicious as the real article.

Further, once we begin actively to oppose the admission of Communists to progressive organizations, isn't it quite certain they will conceal their affiliation even more successfully than they now do? How are we to root them out? . . . However much I fear the influence of the Communist on the liberal movement (and I *do* fear it), I am far *more* afraid of the results of any wholesale attempt on our part to ferret out and isolate him in segregated organizations.

We are living in a nervous, worried world, shivering in the shadow of the atomic bomb. Every ounce of liberal energy should be consecrated to the task of solving the great basic problems of our age and we simply cannot afford to waste valuable time peering into dark corners and looking under chairs for elusive Reds. . . .

I know that in the discussion of Mr. Loeb's letter the question of Spain will arise over and over again. It is an obvious case in point and, although I share heartily Mr. Loeb's general criticism of the "front" organizations, I challenge him, nevertheless, to say that we should *not* have worked alongside the Communists in the fight to maintain the Spanish Republic, perhaps the most important and most decisive struggle of our age. A great many Loyalists were killed in a very nasty manner on Spanish battlefields. Despite their affiliations, despite any sophisticated attempt we might make in 1946 to "write off" their achievements and their sacrifices, I still believe they died for exactly the same democratic ideals we "honest" liberals have.

Dallas, Tex. JACKSON VALTAIR

SIR: Just a note to express my admiration for Stanley Isaac's excellent letter in your May 20 issue.

If the liberals of this country spend their time attacking each other rather than the McKellars, the Byrds and the Bilbos, they will—whether they wish it or not—inevitably form a liberal front for reaction.

CLARK FOREMAN, President,
Washington, D. C. Southern Conference for Human Welfare

[1] James Loeb Jr., national director of the Union for Democratic Action, argued in a letter in our May 13 issue that progressives should not coöperate, in an organizational way, with Communists. —THE EDITORS

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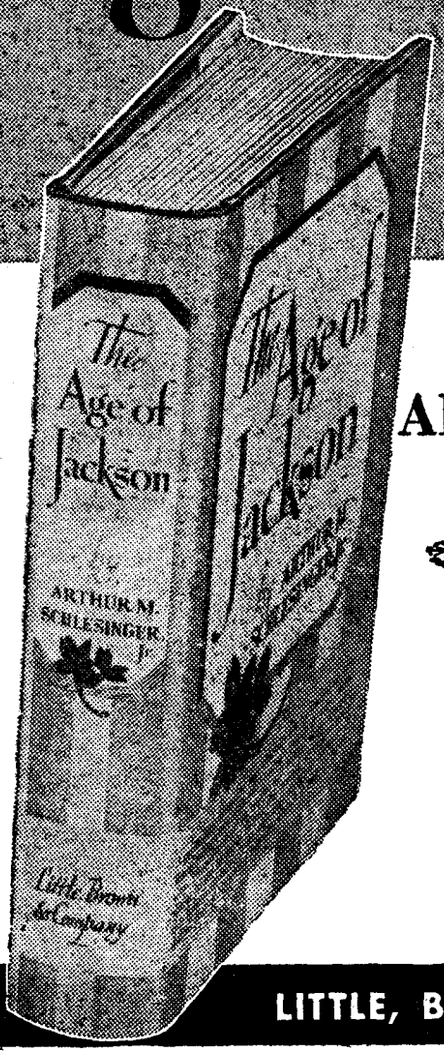

by
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Books in Review

The Unsmiling Irishman

AT LEAST, no one can accuse the Irish of fawning upon their geniuses. Just before starting to read Sean O'Casey's third autobiographical volume, *Drums Under the Windows*,[1] I came across a review of it in the lively Dublin literary magazine called the *Bell*, written by its editor, Sean O'Faolain, one of Ireland's most brilliant authors, whose novels, short stories and biographies, particularly his life of Daniel O'Connell, *King of the Beggars*, are among the glories of contemporary Irish letters. Certainly he is a man far above the petty jealousies of inferior talents, and it is impressive when he speaks of "the poor quality of the narrative" of a book so enthusiastically praised by American reviewers. That, however, is before he has warmed up. Once in his stride, you find him accusing it of "pages of rhodomontade, noisy rhetoric, embarrassing jocularities, heavy-handed satire, the most naïve kind of Joyceisms and bad English."

The striking thing about the new O'Casey book is that it does contain pages guilty of every charge O'Faolain brings against it, and yet there is no part of it which does not demonstrate with superb conclusiveness that the misused and often absurdly bestowed word, "genius," must be applied to its author in all its pristine significance. Even in its defects it is magnificent, because they arise from the turbulent, cascading flood of O'Casey's heroically untamed creative powers. All the qualities of his dramas, which place him safely among the major playwrights of world dramatic history, go into the making of *Drums Under the Windows*, and the new work, following its predecessors, *I Knock at the Door* and *Pictures in the Hallway*, reveals Sean O'Casey as one of the masters in the field of autobiography.

Here he is telling not only of himself and his family but of the upsurge of Irish nationalism in the decade ending in the tragic Easter Week rebellion of 1916. It was a period marked, in the life of O'Casey, by terrible poverty resulting in illness, by the death of his brother and sister, by back-breaking work, striving for self-education, endless hardships and increasing participation in, but eventual split from, the Irish revolutionary labor movement; in the history of his country, by the return of the national spirit after the dismal days following the ingratitude toward Parnell, the literary renaissance, the development of the Gaelic League, the great transport strike of 1913, the growth of Sinn Fein, the Irish Volunteers and Labor's Citizen Army, and, finally, Easter Week. Since O'Casey was an ardent, if recalcitrant, left-wing Irish nationalist, his career and the troubled course of Ireland were in almost constant and usually explosive contact.

As a historian of that vigorous decade, O'Casey, as O'Faolain acidly points out, is far from a factual, unprejudiced and complete observer. For one thing, that isn't what he wants to be. He is concerned, not with a detailed and objective record of his life and times, but with capturing, in that exuberant mingling of realism, fantasy, farce, satire, tragedy and lyric imagination characteristic of his plays, the mood, spirit and emotional atmosphere of a man and a nation in a bitter and formative epoch in their memories. Furthermore, even if he had wanted to be objective, his fiery temperament would have kept him from an impartial estimate of such enemies as Countess Markievicz, Douglas Hyde, Arthur Griffith and Bulmer Hobson, or such personal heroes as Padraic Pearse, Dr. O'Hickey, Rector Griffin and Tom Clarke; although it is a tribute to that temperament that the eloquent portraits of his friends are more persuasive than the cartoons of his foes.

Even if his book is intended chiefly as an imaginative evocation, rather than a factual record, of a time and place, and as such is splendidly successful, it also has brilliantly illuminating light to throw on the Ireland of that day and the Eire that had its birth in the holocaust of Easter Week. His bitter account of the religious puritanism and the bigoted clericalism of the land, brightened by an occasional heroic display of priestly nobility, is, for all its violence, as essentially true today as it was yesterday, even if it is no longer sardonically high-lighted as it was in such episodes as the riots over "The Playboy of the Western World" and the clerical hounding of Dr. O'Hickey. The current Irish clamor over the revival of the Gaelic language seems considerably less farcical to the outsider after O'Casey's report on the spirit and ideals of the movement's earlier day. The Irish striving for political freedom, so often regarded in this country as based merely on excessive romanticism, takes on a more realistic social and economic background in *Drums Under the Windows* after the author's sympathetic but critical study. Above all, the essential conservatism and traditionalism of the Irish state and social structure, even the recent isolationism in Eire, become understandable when O'Casey describes how the dreams of all the revolutionary idealists and philosophers turned inevitably to a golden past, rather than a brave new future.

IN HIS PLAYS, which frequently have such a disconcerting way of shifting back and forth between realism and poetic fantasy, the realistic mood usually has a way of seeming not only more effective but more eloquent. As "The Plough and the Stars" is more moving than "Within the Gates," and the naturalistic scenes of "The Silver Tassie" more successful than those devoted to symbolic chanting, so, I imagine, will the down-to-earth Irish actuality of the earlier parts of the forthcoming New York production of his "Red Roses for Me," which I saw in Dublin in 1943, impress audiences more deeply than the fantasy of Ireland transfigured in a later act. Parenthetically, I should add that I bring up "Red Roses for Me" in connection with *Drums Under the Windows* because it celebrates the transport workers' strike of 1913, which is passionately described in the new autobiography, and introduces the heroic figure of a Protestant clergyman, who is apparently drawn after the Dr. Griffin so touchingly portrayed in the

[1] Drums Under the Windows, by Sean O'Casey. New York: The Macmillan Company. 431 pages. $4.50.

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book. Anyway, it is characteristic of the O'Casey manner that, while the vein of realism is more surely handled than the excursions into fantasy, it is the intermingling of the two moods that shows the breadth and the boldness of his imagination.

This is true in *Drums Under the Windows*. The story of the death of his brother and, later, his sister, the heroism of his mother and his own struggle against poverty and illness and the constant affront to his sensitive pride is so beautifully set down that the nightmarish fantasy of a visit to an insane asylum, an encounter with Adam and Eve in a Garden of Eden peopled with prehistoric animals and an impressionistic report on the "Playboy" row seem by contrast laborious and affected. Yet somehow it is the combination of the two moods that gives the book a quality over and beyond the excellence of either the personal story or the satirical caricatures of a nation in ferment. It is the exuberance of a brave and unbridled imagination, the willingness, as the savants might put it, "to shoot the works," rather than to be careful, precise and constricted in form and content, which, among other things, makes his book so boldly monumental a work. All the faults that Mr. O'Faolain finds are there, but even the "embarrassing jocularity" and the "heavy-handed satire" suddenly turn to hilarious insight and "the bad English" of an occasional elusive paragraph cannot interfere with the rich eloquence of the writing. As personal history and spiritual portrait of a decade, *Drums Under the Windows* is a modern masterpiece.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

An Anatomy of Education

Education for Modern Man, by Sidney Hook. New York: The Dial Press. 237 pages. $2.75.

EVERY MAN ought to have skill at some kind of work, whether shoemaking or surgery, professional football or physics, masonry or music. If he is lucky, he will make his living at what he does best and what he likes best to do. But lucky or not, every man ought to be able to see the relation between his skill and other skills. Without that skill, we are more the prey of circumstance than the most primitive hunter. Without that sense of relation, we are vocational isolationists, and likely to be buccaneers on the economic seas. How to develop skills adequate to the social demand which are at the same time animated by a sense of relatedness is one of the chief dilemmas of democratic society. That is why it is one of the chief problems of democratic education.

Orthodox Marxists, convinced of the historical as well as the moral necessity for one-directional social change, look at education as being, essentially, indoctrination. Progressive educators, following the insights of John Dewey, look at education as a process of discovery and creation, both of the world and of oneself. Early in his career (it has already been a long career for one so young!), in his *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, Sidney Hook tried to convince us that the "real" Marx was a precursor of Mr. Dewey's, not merely in the familiar sense that ideas are instrumental, but that his temper of mind was more experimental than absolutist. To many of us that argument, though persuasively presented, was unconvincing. Since every serious book is partly an attempt by the author to find out what he means, perhaps that book may some time be regarded, even by Mr. Hook, as the record of an unsuccessful attempt to convince himself. The point is significant in connection with his more recent assay of the historical role of the individual in *The Hero in History*. For if it would never occur to an orthodox Marxist to undertake such a task, or seem worth doing if it did occur to him, the importance of the attempt is evident to anyone with an experimentalist attitude toward life. That book may be taken as a sign that the Deweyan strain in Mr. Hook's thinking runs deeper than the Marxian. And the present volume tends to confirm this hypothesis.

The healthy thought that the test of a liberal education lies not in its subject matter but in its method and fruits is primary to Mr. Hook's educational philosophy. Liberal education should be concerned with cultivation in the sense of careful nurture and growth, not as producing "cultivated" men and women. It should be not so much an introduction to "liberal" ideas (whatever they may be) as a process of liberation. In other words, the liberating of an individual's best powers on the level of mature coöperation with others is the mark of liberal education in a democracy. Properly, therefore, method becomes central, both the method of teaching and of learning. And as the method of critical inquiry, or science, is characterized by a spirit and an attitude rather than a fixed procedure, so the method of liberal education must be concerned with individual as well as common needs, with a certain freedom in choosing subjects as well as a common core of knowledge, with specialized as well as general education, with individual guidance as well as group participation.

With the awareness of a live teacher and thinker, Mr. Hook professes his respect for tradition without kowtowing to it. For he rightly says that democratic education requires "central emphasis on focal problems of our culture." But to understand these problems requires, in turn, some knowledge of how they came to be what they are, together with some critical evaluation in terms of which we can decide the ways in which we think they ought to be resolved. Hence the common-core curriculum should give the student an acquaintance with physical science, social studies, philosophy as the critical concern with values and training in the weighing of evidence, literature, art and music. This curriculum, however, is to be regarded as a guiding principle of education and not as an inflexible set of requirements. Yet Mr. Hook knows that the life of a curriculum lies with the teachers, and that the good teacher, together with knowledge of his subject matter and pedagogy, is a "*dedicated* person."

St. John's College and its hundred-best-books curriculum was given an exaggerated importance, through skillful public relations, as an educational experiment, or dogma. The flurry of controversy which it occasioned, however, is something for which we can be grateful. For it served to bring a great many minds to bear on a needed reëxamination of democratic education. Mr. Hook, who enjoys a good fight even more than the next man, rather joyously succumbs to the temptation of pummeling the Adler-Barr-Hutchins philosophy. The pummeling is justified and the joy understandable. But are matinee idols of the intellectual life really deserving of so much attention? Tomorrow they

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will be forgotten, with new problems bringing new champions to shuffle across the headlines. Meanwhile, if Mr. Hook's concern with method and the method with which he is concerned are sound, as I think they are, they will find increasing relevance as they get expanding application to the problems that arise.

With the exception that he has perhaps overindulged his penchant for controversy, Mr. Hook has written a fine book. For those who have not kept abreast of the currents and cross-currents of educational theory, it is an excellent statement of key problems and exemplification of democratic approach. From this point of view, it ought to be a "must" book for those who care about education—and who can afford not to care? To be sure, its own philosophic bias is naturalistic, but it is worthy of being "accepted by all democrats independently of their metaphysical prepossessions." For those who have followed the controversies through the books, periodicals and conferences, it has the advantage of Mr. Hook's dissecting mind, operating with the cleanness of a surgical instrument.

JEROME NATHANSON

Contemporary Fable

The Twins of Nuremberg, by Hermann Kesten. Translated by Andrew St. James and E. B. Ashton. New York: L. B. Fischer. 616 pages. $3.

THE CENTRAL THEME of Hermann Kesten's latest novel—as of his whole work—is the eternal battle of the free individual against the overwhelming forces of injustice. His first novel, written almost twenty years ago and translated into a dozen languages, was *Joseph sucht die Freiheit* (in the English edition: *Joseph Breaks Free*). His following books firmly established his international reputation—not as an author of best-sellers, but as one of the most original talents among the younger German writers. When in 1933 Germany became the Third Reich, Kesten remained one of the outstanding representatives of German literature in exile.

Kesten belongs to the literary family of skeptical idealists and satirical moralists who dare to laugh—desperately and scornfully sometimes—at the foibles and follies of their fellow men, in order not to hate and to despise them. It is only natural that he should turn, in *The Twins of Nuremberg*, to the picaresque novel, in the literary tradition of *Gulliver*, *Candide*, *Gil Blas* and of Grimmelshausen's *Adventurous Simplicissimus*, the great German *Schelmenroman* of the Thirty Years' War. The translation succeeds, I think, in preserving the authenticity of this special style.

Kesten's story begins in Nuremberg, in the turbulent aftermath of the First World War, and comes full circle to the ruins of the same old town in the summer of 1945. A complete chronicle of this whole era would have required an endless series of novels like those of Jules Romains or Roger Martin du Gard. Kesten wisely limits himself to two relatively short but decisive periods. The first part of his story ends with the Kapp Putsch in 1920; the second part begins 18 years later with Ribbentrop's visit to Paris and leads up to the collapse of France in 1940. The last chapter tells, as a sort of epilogue, through the classical technique of a long letter, what has become of the *dramatis*

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personae during the last five years of the Second World War. *Dramatis personae* is the right word, since, true to the style of the great adventure story, the author concentrates upon the personal drama, the fabulous events in the lives of his leading characters, who are both very real and highly symbolic. Endowed with sharply individual, partly caricaturistic traits, they also have the typicality of allegory. To quote from the book itself: "Life, like any work of art, has more than one meaning."

The author dares to be as utterly fantastic in the invention of his fable as in general only reality is allowed to be. But occasionally he can be as factual as a court reporter. Elements that may appear to be the outgrowth of an overheated imagination or of polemical exaggeration are often nothing but literal, historical truth. Kesten's Rifleman Runge, for example, tells his hideous story of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in almost the identical terms he used before the court.

Compared with the unbelievable realities of our times, the most audacious poetic or symbolical invention assumes a certain credibility. Why should there not be identical twins as different as the cold, egoistic Primula and the kind, selfless Uli? Why should not Primula give birth to another pair of twins, the brothers Cæsar and Alexander? Cæsar is brought up by Primula to be a Nazi like his father, the former Lieutenant Lust, who is a cynical nihilist, a scoundrel and, consequently, undersecretary in Goebbels' propaganda ministry. The other twin, Alexander, educated by Uli and her husband, the incorruptible, humanistic writer Musiek, becomes a sensitive and decent young man, a refugee in Paris, an inmate of a Nazi concentration camp and, finally, an American soldier who has "taken his stand with mankind." Why should we not enjoy the virtuosity of the author who with such gusto pulls the strings, springs ever new surprises on the reader and manipulates so brilliantly the well known tricks of mistaken identity, odd coincidences and sudden encounters, of bloody murders, hair-raising escapes and lusty, mostly extra-marital, amours? Millions of quite unimaginative, average contemporaries have lived through—or perished in—much more fantastic nightmares. We should be thankful that the cruel, grotesque grimaces of our times are here seen in all their terrifying reality, but reflected in the magic mirror of art and so transformed into a higher, more meaningful reality.

Kesten is (to quote from his book) one of those "who rebel against the murderous indifference of man . . . because they won't quietly watch others suffer injustice." And his rebellion is the bitter, sardonic laughter of all great satirists. There are scenes in this book which make you think of Daumier or, perhaps more often, of Goya's cruel realism and fantastic symbolism in the "Capriccios" and the "Desastros de la Guerra" which reflect more than the era of the Napoleonic Wars. It may well be that *Hermann Kesten's great picture of Germany* between the wars will assume a similar significance as a timeless artistic document, portraying the grotesque, shameful pettiness and the indestructible, suffering nobility of human nature.

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Mr. Matthews' Memoirs

The Education of a Correspondent, by Herbert L. Matthews. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 550 pages. $4.

THE LIBERALISM of the New York *Times* has variously been described (to put it alliteratively) as self-conscious, sycophantic, sinuous, subjective, snobbish—the word "sinister" perhaps goes too far, but to some, even that shoe on occasion has fit. Certain (though by no means all) of these adjectives seem appropriate to the latest book by the *Times's* eminent foreign correspondent, who has been one of its top-ranking men for many years. In this account of his professional involvement in four wars (Ethiopia, Spain, the American campaign in Italy and the French invasion) plus a lengthy stay in India, one is left with the feeling that Matthews, the man, is umbilically tied to the complex, tentative liberalism of his employer. It is not easy to concretize this criticism because Matthews has always been a forthright and truthful reporter and is, besides, highly intelligent; furthermore, his basic formulations are liberal intellectually—if not emotionally. Perhaps the disquiet one feels in reading him is because his liberalism—like that of his paper—is seldom *visceral.* It came close to being so when he covered the Spanish civil war from the Loyalist side and that portion of his book, like his original daily dispatches, is inspired. Generally, however, his is a brand of liberalism which carries objectivity to the point of passivity and the search for truth to the point of impasse. If these

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days cannot call for a black-and-white attitude, they at the very least demand one which is both positivist and activist.

A case in point is Matthews' detailed treatment of the Indian problem. He correctly sees it as of great complexity; with the prescience of a good journalist, he predicts the Hindu-Moslem cleavage over Pakistan as a grave stumbling-block. But in spite of his desire to present both sides, he is inclined to defend British policy, despite its imperialist overtones, and he is intemperate in his criticisms of the militant leadership of the All-India Congress Party.

If the *Times* is given editorially to salaams before the British Foreign Office, it is equally inveterate in its less than mellow attitude toward the Soviet Union. Methinks Matthews doth protest too much his liberalism in his self-conscious attempts to distinguish a Russian foreign policy consonant with his own convictions from one in which a desire for security burgeons into outright aggression—though he hastens more than once to assure us that "if the choice [between communism and fascism] were forced upon me I would take communism."

Matthews is philosophically in the camp of the ivory-tower liberals. The best proof is his rather wide-eyed admiration for Benedetto Croce, Santayana and the Maharaja of Dholpur, an enlightened Indian prince but a feudal lord of the manor if there ever was one. I've not heard of *Times* correspondents appearing on the same platform with the Quentin Reynoldses, Shirers and Gervasis at Independent Citizens' Committee or PAC mass meetings, but if he can wangle the permission of his boss, I strongly recommend it to Matthews—it's a sure-fire "education" for a correspondent.

HARVEY J. BRESLER

The Ghetto Within

Wasteland, by Jo Sinclair. New York: Harper and Brothers. 321 pages. $2.50.

THE BASIC THEME of this first novel, for which its author received the $10,000 Harper Novel Prize of 1946, is one of the oldest of literature: the cartharsis of a soul. Jake Brown, successful photographer on a provincial paper, is ashamed of his Jewish family, the dirty house in which they live, the way they talk, look, behave. Nobody in his office knows he is Jewish and he is afraid of being found out. Yet he cannot escape "the house," he carries it with him wherever he goes, and slowly a psychosis begins to engulf him. His sister Debby, who alone has successfully cut the "silver cord" and built her own life, takes him to the psychiatrist who has started her on the way to recovery. *Wasteland* is the story of Jake's catharsis and rebirth.

Under the gentle guidance of the psychiatrist, Jake sees himself objectively for the first time in his life. He learns to understand and interpret his family, and though he'll never love his unyielding and niggardly father, he is able at least to start deciphering the torturing riddles which have created the wasteland. The wasteland is not only within him: it has ruined his mother's life, has taken possession of his brother, Sig, his sister, Roz, and is now threatening to destroy his two young nephews. They were all thwarted by their home, they all suffered from not being strong enough to face life, they escaped into neurosis and waste. In the course of the treatment, we hear how Jake's

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parents came from Russia to America, how his mother's marriage turned into disaster, how none of them ever had a chance to become integrated. Now the second generation has to pay for the failure of the first.

Miss Sinclair uses several narrative methods to get her story across: first, Jake tells what happened to him, in his fumbling way; then there are long dialogues between the doctor and Jake, excerpts from the doctor's notebooks; and, finally, Miss Sinclair uses a kind of radio transition technique wherein she lets the psychiatric interview fade out, then takes over and tells the incident herself. These sections are much more impressive than Jake's direct reports. Since Jake has to stay in character, and since he is inarticulate, Miss Sinclair is forced to oversimplify his speeches. As soon as she gives us a straight narrative, she shows a touching earnestness, an endeavor to avoid clichés and a love for literary details—all decided assets in a first novel. Unfortunately, the very form of the book forces her to go in circles.

I'm not quite sure whether Jake's cure is strictly a psychoanalysis. For one thing, there are too few sessions, and there is also a gratifying absence of the usual psychoanalytical lingo. Yet no matter how one might classify the method, it is a long-winded process with the doctor digging and probing and forever unearthing early incidents and forgotten hurts. Inevitably, both the doctor and Jake come back to the basic things, to Jake's hatred of his father, his pity for his mother, his ambivalent attitude toward Debby; in short, to all the main strands of the fabric which they try to unravel. Repetition becomes unavoidable, no matter how much Miss Sinclair tries to vary her narrative technique. After a while the novel seems to be standing still, as if the episodes were repeating the same familiar pattern. *Wasteland* at times appears more of a case history than a novel, despite the extreme care the author has given every small detail. The basic structure of psychiatric treatment excludes the dramatic and forces the reader into an observing, scientific, rather than a participating, emotional attitude.

That Miss Sinclair has nevertheless succeeded in writing a book that impresses one as genuine and clear-cut, never in bad taste and even with some truly moving episodes, is a triumph of her craftsmanship. She never aims too high, is rather too simple than too dazzling, and handles the many scenes of poverty and despair without sentimentality or preaching. Her book has a disarming forthrightness which helps her avoid the traps into which most first novelists are likely to fall.

RICHARD PLANT

A Reader's List

Concept of the Corporation, by Peter F. Drucker (John Day, $3). An economist who has worked with General Motors here applies the insights gained in that undertaking, together with the point of view expressed in his previous books, *The End of Economic Man* and *The Future of Industrial Man*, to the thesis that big private corporations can make capitalism work. He sees the need for many changes and his tone is moderate. The book is valuable for its exposition of some of the ways in which a corporation like General Motors goes at its problems. It will be acceptable to the prejudices of those who think that profits ought to be bigger, that unions have been making extravagant demands and that governmental planning for full employment is undesirable. While the author correctly

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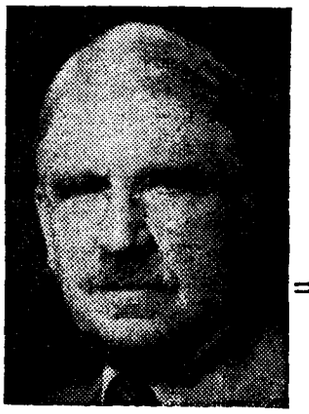
identifies some of the more important obstacles to stability and expansion in a modern system of private enterprise, his remarks about these problems are chiefly in the realm of platitude. There is no marshaling of fact and little keen analysis. Mr. Drucker's thesis may conceivably be true, but he has done little to prove it.

Handbook of Politics, by Lowell Mellett (Penguin, 25 cents). There are just twenty-five pages of narrative in this fascinating guide for neophytes, yet its hard-headed, pragmatic approach throws more light on the murky game of politics than do a dozen scholarly volumes. Mr. Mellet advises liberals to keep their eyes on the bad congressmen. It isn't necessary to look for a new penny; a slightly nicked coin is still better than a counterfeit. And, to continue the figure, only organization and persistence will reverse Gresham's law in politics. Mr. Mellett shows us how to analyze the voting records of our Senators and Representatives and, more important, he tells us how to become *practical* politicians tough enough to make the ward bosses worry. The second part of the book consists of brief summaries of state election laws, congressional-committee assignments and a detailed listing of how congressmen voted on such matters as reciprocal trade, UNRRA, Bretton Woods, the poll tax, labor legislation and price control. The scoring chart which Mr. Mellett includes (similar to the *New Republic* score sheet) makes it easy to find the really bad pennies.

Jobs and Markets, by the Committee for Economic Development Research Staff (McGraw-Hill, $1.60). In the heated controversy of the OPA v. inflation, most people have already taken their positions and wish only to defend them. Nevertheless, use may still be found for a careful statement by responsible economists acting as research staff for a large organization of businessmen, the CED. They tell exactly why inflation is to be feared, what ought to be the strategy in combating it, and why, though the OPA is imperfect, price control ought to be continued for another year and rent control for three years. This is a source which cannot be charged either with official propaganda or with a desire to wreck our economy.

Crime and Punishment

The Panic-Stricken, by Mitchell Wilson (Simon and Schuster, $2). While nowhere near so good as Mr. Wilson's earlier novels, you aren't likely to put this down till you solve the mystery of the beautiful yacht *Gara.* Who killed its millionaire owner; what was its famous —and sinister—captain up to; why was



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cabin-boy Ned Blake haunted by nightmares; and will trigger-man Gabriel get the girl? It's all here, in a compact package, and even wilder and woolier than it sounds.

Time to Change Hats, by Margot Bennett (Crime Club, $2). John Davies, newly sprung from the British army, circularizes his friends for work as a private detective. Only Della Mortimer responds, but her letter sends John hotfoot to Dorset to investigate the messages signed "Death" that have been puzzling Della and the other evacuees in the hitherto-dull hamlet of Clapham. John's arrival is the signal for murder, and it takes a good six hours of reading time for him to pick the murderer from the assembled screwballs.

Cheat the Hangman, by E. X. Ferrars (Crime Club, $2). Praise the Lord for a detective story that concentrates on why rather than how the murder was committed. And in the wartime London group who gather at Cecily Lightwood's literary party there are several who have a motive for wishing Aubrey Ritter dead. It is Alice Church—meeting for the first time most of the people involved—who won't accept the verdict of the police, and whose probing into the characters of those concerned in the affair leads to the correct conclusion.

Everybody Makes Mistakes, by M. S. Marble (Rinehart, $2). This Hollywood number by a new writer is a little frantic—what with nymphomaniacs, glamor girls and aging matinee idols—but the problem is on the neat side. Red Kennedy, a likable press agent, seems the likeliest suspect in the murder of his client, an unlovable night-club owner. Then a gossip columnist who tries to help him out is also murdered. Red saves his neck in a photo finish and a good time is had by all the living. E. H.

New Republic News

Monday is everything-breaks-down-and-everybody-goes-crazy day at the *New Republic*, for that's the day we go to press. This past Monday, the week-end of the railroad strike and the President's message to Congress, things were more hectic than usual. A couple of last-minute editorials and T. R. B.'s column were floating around between Washington and New York somewhere in Uncle Sam's overloaded special-delivery air mail. Editor Bruce Bliven was caught in the middle of a Connecticut cloudburst. The telephone line to his hideaway lay dead in a ditch along a muddy back road, and he almost had to swim part of the way back to Manhattan along the flooded Bronx River Parkway.

Luckily, the teletype bore up under the load, chattering noisily all Monday morning with the missing Washington copy, and adding to the noise and chaos of the final editorial conferences. Note to T. R. B.: your air-mailed copy arrived safe and snug in its clean white envelope early Monday evening, just as No. 6,542 of the current *NR* was rolling off the presses.

Speaking of T. R. B. reminds us of the time, a few years ago, when he mentioned in his column that he had once owned a Texas newspaper with an AP franchise. He went on to sketch his ideas about that organization, not sparing any blistering adjectives.

Someone at the AP offices went to work on its list of all Texas publishers who had ever held an AP franchise. Proving the old saw about the long arm of coincidence, the AP newsman came up with the name of a Texan whose initials were T. R. B. Mr. T. R. B. in Texas received a hot letter from the AP, and turned to the *NR* editors with injured innocence for assistance in setting the moral wrong right. After letters, lunches and a couple of conferences, we managed to convince the AP that it was barking up the wrong T. R. B.

• • •

Jerome Nathanson is a Leader of the New York Society for Ethical Culture and chairman of the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith.

Franz Schoenberner, whose book *Confessions of a European Intellectual* was recently published by Macmillan, was the last anti-Nazi editor of the famous satirical-political weekly *Simplicissimus* in Munich. He left Germany in March, 1933, lived for more than eight years in France and came to this country in June, 1941. He has contributed articles to *Decision*, *Tomorrow*, the *New Republic* and other periodicals.

Harvey J. Bresler, a business executive and lawyer, is a frequent contributor to the *New Republic*.

Richard Plant is the former book-review editor of *Tomorrow* magazine. He was awarded the first Eugene F. Saxton fellowship for creative writing and is now at Yaddo writing a novel.

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A Journal of Opinion

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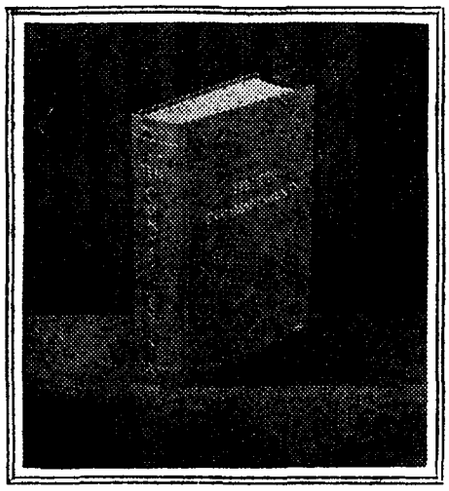
Do You Know the Truth About the Ten Commandments?



DO YOU KNOW—

That there is more than one set of Ten Commandments?

That the Protestants, Catholics and Hebrews do not list them all alike?

That there are two highly contradictory reasons why the Sabbath should be observed?

That no evidence exists that the children of Israel were in bondage in Egypt?

That the observance of one of the Commandments was the cause of anti-Semitism?

That the name of the Biblical deity is not to be found in the Bible?

Which is the Sabbath Day?

Why women were not permitted to observe the Sabbath?

The secret of circumcision?

Why children were admonished to "honor" their parents?

That the Sixth Commandment is a prohibition against blood contamination?

That the Seventh Commandment is based upon the primitive superstitious belief in sympathetic magic; and that sex morality had nothing to do with its origin?

The Eighth Commandment carried with it a curse for its violation?

The Biblical meaning of the word "neighbor"?

That the basis of the Tenth Commandment is the belief in witchcraft — the fear of the "evil eye"?

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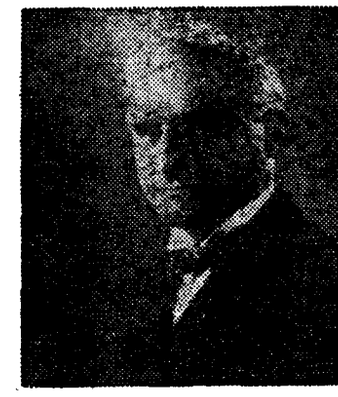

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